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YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH
ALBERT S. COOK, EDITOR

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# CATILINE HIS CONSPIRACY

BY

BEN JONSON

47

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

BY

LYNN HAROLD HARRIS, PH.D.
INSTRUCTOR IN ENGLISH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

A Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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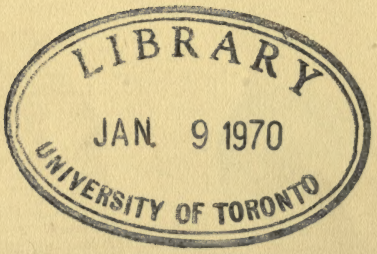


WEIMAR: PRINTED BY R. WAGNER SOHN.

TO MY MOTHER,

WHOSE SELF-SACRIFICE AND DEVOTION HAVE
ALONE MADE POSSIBLE THE SCHOLARSHIP OF WHICH
THIS WORK IS THE FIRST-FRUITS

# PREFACE

The noteworthy interest aroused in the rather long neglected works of Ben Jonson within the last dozen years would in itself be sufficient justification for a separate edition of *Catiline*, even were the play not intrinsically worthy. However, *Catiline* is by no means a despicable drama. Flat as its declamation may seem beside the rapid action of the romantic drama, it yet contains patent evidences of greatness. The touch of a master—hand (although it seems at times misguided) is everywhere present—in the firm grasp of character, in the orderly progression of plot, and in the marvelous skill with which so many classical sources are fused into one organic whole.

Further, *Catiline* has a very definite historical interest. It was the weight of Ben Jonson's authority and example in *Sejanus* and *Catiline* that firmly established the Senecan tragic traditions and methods, which had previously had but a precarious foothold, upon our stage.[1] Then, too, critics generally have been too hasty in ascribing the so-called 'classical age' entirely to French influence. Without unduly belittling this foreign agency, I yet think it may be safely maintained that under the impetus of Ben Jonson's authority, a 'classical' drama of some sort was bound to evolve.

In editing *Catiline*, I have devoted a great deal of attention to sources, because Jonson is peculiarly faithful to his authorities, priding himself on his erudite and accurate classicism. In this consideration of sources, I owe a great debt to an unpublished thesis in the library of Yale University, by Miss Alice P. Wright, *A Study of Ben*

[1] See Briggs, *Influence of Ben Jonson*, etc., in *Anglia* 35. 277 ff.

*Jonson's Catiline with Special Reference to its Sources.* The scope and sureness of Miss Wright's classical knowledge have spared me many plodding hours. I have not always agreed with her results, at times I have omitted citations I thought irrelevant, at times I have made substitutions that seemed to me more nearly parallel to the text, and I have added much new material; but even with these deductions, a heavy share of the credit belongs to her. I need hardly state that I have verified every citation. Another debt which I owe, and take equal pleasure in acknowledging, is to Mr. W. A. White of New York City, for his kindness in lending me the Quartos of 1611 and 1635 for collation. I also desire to convey my thanks, for help in various matters of detail, to Professors Hanns Oertel, Frederick W. Williams, Clarence W. Mendell, and Henry B. Wright of Yale University; and to the Yale Elizabethan Club for the use of their copy of the 1616 Folio. I wish also to acknowledge the uniform consideration and courtesy of the officials of the Yale University Library, the Northwestern University Library, the Newberry Library of Chicago, the University of Minnesota Library, and the St. Paul Public Library. Most especially do I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Albert S. Cook, without whose inspiring counsel and aid this work would never have been completed.

A portion of the expense of printing this book has been borne by the English Club of Yale University from funds placed at its disposal by the generosity of Mr. George E. Dimock of Elizabeth, New Jersey, a graduate of Yale in the Class of 1874.

L. H. H.

University of Illinois,
January 3, 1916

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# INTRODUCTION

## A. Editions of the Play

### *Collations and Descriptions*

*Catiline* was first acted in 1611, and published in the same year in quarto (Q 1). There is no entry of it in the *Stationers' Registers*, but this lack is not unusual, for 'the *Registers* by no means include everything which appeared from the press. Those who held special privileges or monopolies for printing a certain book, or, maybe, a whole class of books, were not, apparently, under obligation to enter such books, and the royal printers were also superior to the rule so far as the works included in their patent were concerned.'[1] However, the charter of the Company of Stationers was stringent enough to prevent the lawful printing of any work not entered on its books, unless exempt as above stated. Of course, numerous 'pirated' editions were issued by the secret presses; but the 1611 Quarto of *Catiline* can scarcely have been of this type, as a glance at its title-page will show: CATILINE | his | CONSPIRACY | Written | by | BEN: IONSON. | LONDON, | Printed for *Walter Burre.* | 1611. | Walter Burre was a member in good standing of the Company, and had already issued editions of Jonson's *Alchemist*, *Sejanus*, and *Volpone*. This Quarto is a clearly printed volume, containing: title, one leaf (verso, heraldic device); dedication, one leaf; addresses to the reader, one leaf recto; commendatory verses,[2] one leaf verso, one leaf recto; names of the actors, one leaf verso; text B–O3 in fours.

[1] *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.* 4. 433.

[2] See *Appendix*, pp. 216 ff.

The addresses to the reader (also found in Q2) are decidedly Jonsonian in flavor. W. and G. introduced them into their editions. They read as follows:

'TO THE READER IN ORDINARIE.

'The Muses forbid, that I should restraine your medling, whom I see alreadie busie with the Title, and tricking ouer the leaues: It is your owne. I departed with my right, when I let it first abroad. And now, so secure an Interpreter I am of my chance, that neither praise, nor dispraise from you can affect mee. Though you commend the two first Actes, with the people, because they are the worst; and dislike the Oration of Cicero, in regard you read some pieces of it, at Schoole, and vnderstand them not yet; I shall finde the way to forgiue you. Be anything you will be, at your owne charge. Would I had deseru'd but halfe so well of it in translation, as that ought to deserue of you in iudgment, if you haue any. I know (whosoeuer you are) to haue that, and more. But all pretences are not iust claymes.

'The commendation of good things may fall within a many, their approbation but in a few; for the most commend out of affection, selfe tickling, an easiness, or imitation; but men iudge only out of knowledge. That is the trying faculty. And, to those works that will beare a Iudge, nothing is more dangerous then a foolish prayse. You will say I shall not haue yours, therefore; but rather the contrary, all vexation of Censure. If I were not aboue such molestations now, I had great cause to think vnworthily of my studies, or they had so of mee. But I leaue you to your exercise. Beginne.

'To the Reader extraordinary.

'You I would vnderstand to be the better Man, though Places in Court go otherwise; to you I submit my selfe, and worke. Farewell. BEN: IONSON.'

All marginal notes are omitted in this Quarto.

The next appearance of the play was in the Folio of 1616. There are several mutually independent impressions of this,[1] of which I have seen two—the one in the Yale Library (F1), and the one in possession of the Yale Elizabethan Club (F2). F1 reads: LONDON | *Printed by* | *William* | *Stansby.* | An° D. 1616. F2 reads: LONDON | *Printed by W*: | *Stansby.* and are | to be sould by | Rich: Meighen | An° D. 1616. Although Aurelia Henry[2] mentions a copy in the British Museum reading similarly to F2, which varies in 'a few instances of punctuation, spelling, and typography' from F1, I can discover no differences in *Catiline.* A collation of the two texts reveals an absolute identity: title-page, verso blank; dedication recto, catalogue verso, etc.[3] Even the misprint in *Catiline,* where page 713 is headed 317, is repeated. F1 has been chosen as the text of the present edition, because it exhibits the most consistency, and contains the fewest apparent errors. Although it varies in numerous particulars from the text of Q1, the fact that its variations have been pretty generally incorporated in the later printings indicates that it was from the first regarded as authoritative.

Following *Catiline's* appearance in the 1616 Folio came the Quarto of 1635 (Q2), reading, CATILINE | HIS | CONSPIRACY | WRITTEN | BY | BEN: IONSON | And now Acted by his MAIESTIES Servants | with great Applause, | LONDON: | Printed by N. OKES, for *I. S.* | 1635. It is very carelessly printed, as its many

[1] See W. W. Greg, *Mod. Lang. Quart.,* Apr. 1904, pp. 26—29.

[2] *Epicoene* (*Yale Studies* '31) xiii.

[3] For collation, see *Poetaster,* ed. H. S. Mallory (*Yale Studies* 27), xii. A separate collation after the method proposed by Judson (ed. *Cynthia's Revels, Yale Studies* 44, xiv ff.) yields the same result with respect to *Catiline* in F1 and F2.

mistakes show. Its text follows in the main Q1, as omission of the marginal directions indicates. The collation is as follows: title-page, one leaf (verso blank); addresses to the reader, one leaf recto; commendatory verses, one leaf verso, one leaf recto; catalogue, one leaf verso; text B-L4 in fours (bottom margins cut into).

In 1640 appeared the second Folio of Jonson's complete works (1640)—a slovenly piece of printing, containing many errors, such as *a part* for *apart* in 1. 340; *our* for *out* in 1. 357; the omission of the second *you* in 2. 78; *vpon* for *vnto* in 3. 196; *Porter* for *potter* in 3. 542; *Of* for *Or* in 4. 550; *SEN.* for *SER.* in 1. 572, etc. Aside from its errors, it differs little from F1, although it would seem, upon the evidence offered by Aurelia Henry,[1] not to be a reprint of that, but of another copy of the 1616 Folio in the British Museum. The title-page reads: LONDON, | *Printed by* | Richard Bishop, | *and are to be sold by* | Andrew Crooke, | *in S^t. Paules, Church-yard.* | An° D. 1640.

In 1674 appeared the third Quarto (Q3) of *Catiline*. The title reads: CATILINE | HIS | CONSPIRACY | A | Tragoedie. | As it is now Acted by His | MAJESTIE'S | Servants; | at the Theatre ROYAL. | The Author B. J. | LONDON, Printed for A. C. and are to be sold by *William* | *Cademan* at the *Pope's Head* | in the Lower | walk of the *New Exchange*, 1674. This edition has but little value, being merely brought out because the play had been recently popular in a stage-revival. It omits the dedication, but is in other respects a reprint of the 1616 Folio, with minor changes in spelling and punctuation. There are some careless mistakes, such as *yearly* for *early* in 1. 210; the omission of *the rest* in 1. 353; *thy* for *they* in 1. 539; *ever* for *euery* in 2. 347; *spy*

[1] *Epicoene*, ed. Henry (*Yale Studies* 31) xv.

*all* for *spiall* in 4. 233, etc., showing the hasty nature of the work. Following the title-page comes a prologue, and at the end of the volume is an epilogue. These are given in the Appendix, pp. 218—19.

*Catiline* next appeared in the third Folio, 1692. This edition is a reprint of that of 1640, and follows most of its errors. Spelling is modernized, so that *do's* becomes *does*, *'hem* becomes *'em*, etc. The punctuation is much changed, especially in the reduction of redundant commas, and the enlarged use of the colon.[1] In 1716 there appeared a booksellers' reprint of this Folio, in seven octavo volumes. It is of slight importance, although its changes in the text I have thought best to incorporate in my footnotes.

In 1756 appeared Peter Whalley's edition of the works (W). Whalley modernizes spellings, adopts an independent punctuation, divides into scenes at the entrance of new characters, encloses all verse in quotation-marks, and runs in Jonson's marginal directions between the lines, or as footnotes. His text in the main follows that of 1716, although it is not quite so faulty. Whalley's edition was reprinted by John Stockdale, London, 1811.

In 1816 William Gifford produced his edition of Jonson (G). Gifford approached his task in a scholarly manner, choosing the Folio of 1616 as the standard of his text, but also considering the readings of the Quartos. Although not entirely thorough, his edition is much superior to Whalley's, both in text and notes. He very amusingly loses patience many times with Whalley's somewhat puerile emendations, and takes him to task in rather caustic and mordant terms: notwithstanding which, he is himself free in making emendations, usually without com-

[1] For collations of the three Folios see *Poetaster*, ed. Mallory (*Yale Studies* 27).

ment. Gifford is the first to divide the acts into scenes according to place instead of according to speaker, and gives the setting of each scene. All entrances and exits of characters are noted by him in stage-directions or side-notes. These changes make a play such as *Catiline* much more intelligible to the general reader. Gifford's text is available in his two editions, those of 1816 and 1846, and in the reprint with 'perfunctory improvements' (the phrase is Dr. Herford's) by Lieut.-Col. Cunningham in 1875, which is still the standard for Jonson's complete works. His alterations of the text are mainly modernizations: *ay* for the interjection *I*; *them* or *'em* for *'hem*; *have* for *ha'*; *the* for *th'*, etc. All important variants will be found in the footnotes to the text.[1]

So far as I have been able to learn, there are no translations of *Catiline*.

## B. Date and Stage-History

The date of the first acting of *Catiline*, according to the title-pages of F1, F2, and Q1, was 1611. As all dates were then reckoned in old style, however, this may well have been 1612; and the absence of a record in the Stationers' Registers leaves us without any definite data.

The title-page of Q2 informs us that the play was at that time (1635) 'acted by his MAIESTIES Servants with great Applause,' but I am unable to discover any contemporary notes of its appearance.

It was early revived at the Restoration, and was, on the whole, well received. Under date of December 11, 1667, Pepys says, 'I met ... Harris, the player, and there

[1] For collations of 1716, W, G, and C—G, see *The Alchemist*, ed. Hathaway (*Yale Studies* 17).

we talked . . . particularly of *Catiline*, which is to be suddenly acted at the King's house; and there all agree that it cannot be well done at that house, there not being good actors enow: and Burt acts Cicero, which they all conclude he will not be able to do well. The King gives them £ 500 for robes, there being, as they say, to be sixteen scarlett robes.' On December 18, 1668, the play was produced, evidently somewhat later than had been at first planned, with Hart as Catiline, Mohun as Cethegus, Burt as Cicero, and Mrs. Corey as Sempronia. On the next afternoon Pepys saw it, but was not greatly impressed, as his words testify: '. . . Saw *Catiline's Conspiracy*, yesterday being the first day: a play of much good sense and words to read, but that do appear the worst upon the stage, I mean, the least diverting, that ever I saw any, though the most fine in clothes; and a fine scene of the Senate, and of a fight, that ever I saw in my life. But the play is only to be read.'

The play was still being revived in 1674, as the title-page of Q3 shows: 'As it is now Acted by his MAJESTIE'S Servants.' John Downes in his *Roscius Anglicanus* mentions *Catiline* as one of the stock plays commonly produced in his day, all of which, he states, 'proved very satisfactory to the town.' Gerard Langbaine the younger in his *Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (Oxford, 1691),[1] says that *Catiline* continued 'still in vogue on the stage (in his time), and was always presented with success.' However, there is no reason to believe that the play survived on the stage longer than the opening years of the eighteenth century. In the main, Pepys' contention that *Catiline* is 'only to be read' is right; although one could hardly imagine it a total failure on the stage, it is to-day primarily a 'closet-drama.'

[1] Quoted by Gifford. I have not a copy at hand.

## C. Literary Relationships

*Catiline* is a play of frank borrowings. In Jonson's day, when classical knowledge was held in rather more popular esteem than at present, it is highly probable that a considerable number of his readers and auditors recognized at once a large share of his quotations and allusions. The only method of producing a true historical play was, in Jonson's mind, his own—that of painstaking reference to the classics. Jonson was one of the few Elizabethans who had any regard for 'atmosphere,' and to whom such anachronisms as the striking of a clock in Brutus' orchard[1] were abominations. A Roman play must be *Roman*, and its characters must speak as Romans spoke. On such a hypothesis, there could be but one conclusion : one must go to Roman speeches as they have been handed down to us, go to contemporary documents and transcribe them. Such a thesis is in the main right, but in it lies the grave danger of making too much of the letter at the expense of the spirit. This is precisely Jonson's case. Great as was his ingenuity, great as were his assimilative powers, there yet remains in *Catiline* much suspended erudition : masses of pedantry, so to speak, not in perfect solution. The traces of mosaic work (to change the figure), work very clever in itself withal, are not totally obliterated. However, in justice to Jonson, one must add that to the general reading-public of to-day, not so versed in classic lore as the poet's auditory, these things are not greatly in evidence.

As I have said, *Catiline* is a play of frank borrowings. At times it is a literal transcript of authorities, at other times it is strongly reminiscent of them. In his efforts to catch the true Latin 'atmosphere,' the author even goes so far as to twist the English idiom, as in 4. 823,

[1] *Julius Cæsar* 2. 1. 191.

where *I heare ill* is the poet's attempt to render the Latin *male audio*, 'I am ill spoken of.' Then, too, there are his translations of *virtus* by *vertue*, *pietas* by *pietie*, and the like. The odor of the scholar's taper is strong upon such.

The sources of *Catiline* fall readily into three main classes: first, those of the plot, wherein I include the characters; second, those of the dialogue; and third, those of the choruses. To the plot, Sallust's *Catilina* of course makes the greatest contribution, and the characters are mainly developed in the way it suggests; but the contemporary works of Cicero, the *Lives* of Plutarch, and the accounts of Suetonius, Dio Cassius, and others are used freely. Into the dialogue many elements enter—speeches from Sallust; one whole oration from Cicero, and excerpts from others; figures from the *Pharsalia* of Lucan; and single quotations from scattered sources—Florus, Claudian, and others. To the choruses Petronius Arbiter contributes most, as the first chorus is in large measure a translation of the rhapsody of Eumolpus (*Satiricon* 119, 120); but another chorus, the fourth, owes greatly to Sallust, although not a mere translation.

### 1. *Sources of the Plot*

*Sallust.* No other one authority supplied so much to the plot of *Catiline* as the *Catilina* of Sallust. Sallust's real narrative commences with section 14. Beginning here, the next three sections paint Catiline's character, suggest that it was the memory of Sulla's former easy and profitable triumphs that animated him to rebellion (this is even more strongly hinted in section 5), trace his crimes, and discover in them the unceasing scourges that drove him on to crimes still greater:

> The ills, that I haue done, cannot be safe
> But by attempting greater.

Now, closely parallel to this in Jonson is the introduction of Sulla's ghost, the catalogue of Catiline's misdeeds, and Catiline's monologue containing the lines just quoted above. Following this, Jonson introduces Aurelia Orestilla, who has been mentioned by Sallust in section 15; and then comes the first meeting of the conspirators, both in Jonson and Sallust. To show at a glance how far Jonson has used the *Catilina*, I here give a table of parallel references.[1]

| | Jonson | Sallust |
|---|---|---|
| Act 1. | Lines 1–73 . . . | Sections 5, 15 |
| | ,, 73–111 . . . | ,, 15 |
| | ,, 111–191 . . . | ,, 16 |
| | ,, 191–Chorus . . | ,, 17, 20, 21, 22 |
| Act 2. | . . . . . | Hints in Sections 23, 25 |
| Act 3. | Lines 1–490 . . . | ,, 26 |
| | ,, 490–Chorus . . | ,, 27, 28 |
| Act. 4. | ,, 24–538 . . . | ,, 31 |
| | ,, 538–600 . . . | ,, 32, 33, 39, 40 |
| | ,, 600–707 . . . | ,, 41 |
| | ,, 707–781 . . . | ,, 44 |
| | ,, 781–Chorus . . | ,, 45 |
| Act 5. | ,, 1–68 . . . . | ,, 59 |
| | ,, 86–102 . . . | ,, 49, 46 |
| | ,, 102–367 . . . | ,, 47, 48 |
| | ,, 367–420 . . . | ,, 58 |
| | ,, 420–end . . . | ,, 50–53, 55, 59–61 |

Sallust, however, not only supplies the main framework for the plot, but it is from him that many of

[1] This table is adapted from a similar one in Miss Wright's unpublished thesis.

the chief characters are drawn. Sempronia and Aurelia Orestilla, Catiline, Lentulus, Cethegus, Curius, and Petreius are principally from his pages, although hints from other quarters are worked in. Many of the minor characters are not mentioned in any other account than the *Catilina*.

*Cicero.* To fill in the outline furnished by Sallust, Jonson made heavy drafts on Cicero. However, these are generally in the dialogue, which I shall consider later. Practically the only part of the action taken from Cicero is the circumstantial account of the meeting of the senate (in act 5) at which the conspirators were convicted, which is from the third Catilinarian. However, the character of Cicero is due almost entirely to his self-revelations in his speeches, and the portrait of Catiline receives several effective touches from his hand.

*Plutarch, etc.* The contribution of other authorities to the plot proper is, on the whole, negligible. Dio Cassius gives a description of prodigies that may not be imitated in Act 1. Plutarch adds touches to the characters of Catiline and Lentulus, supplies the portrait of Antonius, and furnishes the basis for the letter-incident in Act 5, and for Cicero's personally leading the conspirators to execution. From Suetonius is the mention of the libel against Cæsar in Act 5, and from him the character of Cæsar seems to be principally drawn. However, the sum of these is but a small portion of the whole.

## 2. *Sources of the Dialogue*

*Sallust.* Sallust furnishes to the dialogue four of the five long connected speeches in *Catiline*: Catiline's address to the conspirators in Act 1 (*Cat.* 20), Catiline's speech to his soldiers in Act 5 (*Cat.* 58), and the speeches of Cæsar and Cato in the senate on the punishment of the

conspirators in Act 5 (*Cat.* 51 and 52). A number of shorter quotations also occur: Act 1: 165–169, 179–181, 428–430, 441–449, 463–465; Act 2: 34–56 (the description of Sempronia), 66–68, 310–312; Act 3: 534–536; Act 4: 516–518, 558–563, 612, 614–616, 640–643, 777, 783–792, 798.

*Cicero.* One long speech is from Cicero—the oration against Catiline before the senate, in Act 4, taken from the first Catilinarian. Besides this, the following lines are either quoted from Cicero, or suggested by him:

From 1 *Cat.*—3. 815–827; 4. 653–655
,, 2 *Cat.*—5. 22–50
,, 3 *Cat.*—4. 75–77; 5. 103–335
,, 4 *Cat.*—3. 264; 5. 424–432; 437–438; 439–446; 499–516
,, *Pro Mur.*—3. 21–24; 219–222; 4. 151–155
,, *In Pis.* —3. 29–31
,, *In Cæl.* —4. 129–133

*Lucan and others.* Jonson's borrowings from other sources are generally for 'atmosphere.' In describing the horrors, for instance, of Sulla's sway, which Catiline and his followers hope to see repeated, he goes to Lucan's *Pharsalia*, where a vivid picture of civil strife is ready at hand, and incorporates many of its details in the account of the meeting of the conspirators in Act 1. When Fulvia acquaints Cicero with the plot, in Act 3, Lucan supplies many of Cicero's exclamations of horror. He also furnishes part of Catiline's speech in the senate in Act 4, and figures for the description of Catiline's death in Act 5. Seneca furnishes several hints for the monologue of Sulla's ghost in the first act. Single quotations even appear from Petronius, whose phrase 'ingeniosa gula' is caught up in 1. 391 as *witty gluttony*. Even so little known an author as

Claudian[1] seems to have furnished more than a hint for the vigorous lines on the giants' war in 5. 677 ff. Reminiscences of Horace occur, such as in 1. 126 and 4. 30–33. A phrase, 'Κράτει, μέθυσε', is taken from Plutarch's *Cato Minor* (5. 578); Florus' *Epitome* furnishes 3. 285–288 and 5. 688–691; and Quintus Cicero is quoted in 4. 122–126. Instances might be multiplied, but full references are given in the Notes.

### 3. *Sources of the Choruses*

Chorus 1 owes its flavor to the incorporation in it of some eight quotations from the *Satiricon* of Petronius. While the chorus is by no means entirely a translation, the parts not from Petronius are mainly but amplifications of his thought. Chorus 2 is largely Jonson's own, save for one hint from Horace; Chorus 3 is also practically original. Chorus 4 contains only one direct quotation, but its gist is plainly taken from Sallust, with possibly some aid from Cicero's *Pro Murena*.

The treatment I have here given the sources has been brief, because I shall have more to say about them in the next section and in one taking up Jonson as atranslator.

### 4. *Jonson's Use of Sources*

The borrowings in *Catiline* are sometimes rather intangible. Scarcely more than a fourth of the play is actual translation, and yet scarcely more than a fourth is original. This is due to Jonson's method. Take, for instance, the first meeting of the senate in Act 5. Every incident is reproduced from Cicero's own account in 4 *Cat.*, but there is practically no out-and-out quotation. Throughout, Jonson treats Sallust much as a modern playwright would a novel he was dramatizing—a historical

[1] Claudian was more widely known in Jonson's day, however, than now.

novel, let us say. That is, he follows the outlines of the story pretty closely, taking dialogue where it is given, and where is it not, going to other sources, contemporary preferably, to supply it. If he finds nothing definite there, he at least has learned enough to understand how his characters *might* speak. So in *Catiline* Sallust furnishes most of the plot, many of the character-studies, and a fair share of the speeches; Cicero supplies much of the dialogue directly, especially as a great part of his speeches in the play consists of mosaics from his works; and the dialogue which is not directly furnished by Sallust, Cicero, or the minor sources, is almost always developed from them. The striking exception is the second act. For this Jonson had nothing but a few hints as to the character of Sempronia, and a bit from Ovid, and out of this scant stuff he wove one of the most sparkling of all his comic scenes. But this is unusual. Jonson's aim is not to be original. He believes in sticking to his book, and as a result, although he gains in mechanical realism, he loses in dynamism. By reason of Jonson's strict attention to sources, *Catiline* is a thoroughly Roman drama, far more so than *Julius Cæsar*: but who would ever consider comparing the two? Despite Jonson's real power, the weight of pedanticism ties him down, and *Catiline* can never be said to soar.

Jonson's attempts to be literally faithful to his authorities sometimes lead him astray. I shall cite a few examples. In Act I, following the appearance of the ghost, and in direct accord with the atmosphere it has created, Catiline, in his monologue, seems just deciding to plot against his country. The phrase, *It is decree'd*, would indicate that a mental struggle, with the resolve to revolt as its culmination, has just ended. However, a few lines later, when the conspirators meet, Jonson has his eye upon Sallust so closely that he forgets this phrase,

and represents, with Sallust, the plot as already well advanced. Again, Jonson for his own purposes desires to maintain a fictitious unity of time. But he forgets this also, when (again following Sallust) he calls upon Syllanus as *Consul next design'd*, in Act 5, to give his judgment on the conspirators, notwithstanding that (as it seems to the reader) Cicero has just been elected to the consulship.[1] Again, he translates a line from Cicero in Act 4 to make Gambinius Cimber the *enginer of all*; but in his own account Cimber has been merely a figure-head. In an endeavor to reconcile Plutarch's and Sallust's accounts of the attempts to murder Cicero, the former crediting the whole to Cethegus, he uses them both. The same sort of thing occurs in Act 3 and Act 4, Catiline threatening (in both places) to quench opposition to him with fire and ruin; in the first instance to Cato before the delivery of the first Catilinarian, in the second instance to Cæsar in answer to it. This is because Cicero in *Pro Murena* 25 and Sallust in *Cat.* 31 give different accounts. More instances of the sort might be adduced.

### 5. *Historical Accuracy of Catiline*

A strange anomaly in the case of *Catiline* is that, closely as it follows sources, it is not in the main true to history. This inaccuracy, however, is no fault of Jonson's. He lived in an uncritical age. Sallust's account was undoubtedly considered beyond reproach then, especially as Plutarch, Dio Cassius, Appian, Florus, and the other authorities agreed so substantially with it. But to us of today that very agreement is suspicious. As Merimée[2] points out, the accounts are so painstakingly alike that

[1] But see Buland, *Presentation of Time in the Elizabethan Drama*, chap. 1, *Double Time*. At best the time-problem is here handled but poorly by Jonson, however.

[2] *Études sur l'Histoire Romaine*.

the conjecture at once arises that they have all been drawn in the main from one common source. Then, too, Sallust and Plutarch, the two principal authorities, as Merimée further observes, were both stylists, fonder of beautiful phrases than of plain facts. Sallust, moreover, had cause to be prejudiced, as he was a violent partisan of Cæsar. Indeed, Dr. Speck[1] considers the *Catilina* as nothing more than a campaign-document ('Parteischrift') for Cæsar. Plutarch is equally untrustworthy for another reason. In his *Lives* he always paints his characters in high lights and deep shadows, striving for contrasts, and so brightens the virtues of Cicero and blackens the vices of Catiline.

We have every reason to believe that Catiline, while certainly far from a 'model young man,' was not so bad as he has been depicted. Profligate he was, but profligacy was the gentlemanly vice of the age. Even the partial Plutarch admits his favorite Cato to have been entangled in adulterous *liaisons*. That Catiline murdered his son, forced a vestal, or corrupted his daughter, would seem to be improbable, in view of the fact that he was twice[2] able to stand for the consulship. He had been rather closely connected with the *régime* of Sulla, but many noteworthy citizens had also taken part in its horrors: a highly developed sense of mercy and pity was not a common Roman attribute. Above all, he was ambitious: but so was Cæsar; and there is no evidence that Catiline was any more ambitious or unscrupulous than he.

I hold no brief for Catiline. His course was doubtless pernicious, and he had in him over—much of the demagogue; yet I do think that he was no unusual monster, but merely a logical product of his age. The seeds of decadence had long been sown, and Catiline was one of the first-

[1] *Katilina im Drama der Weltliteratur.*

[2] Mommsen thinks only once.

fruits. He was but the natural link between Marius and Sulla on the one hand, and Cæsar and Augustus on the other. There were real abuses in Rome, many of them glaring, and the steadily increasing concentration of wealth had produced a deep unrest and a growing protest for more equal distribution. Especially did there seem to be injustice in the debtors' laws, which, we are led to believe, lay heavily upon Catiline himself, until his fortunate union with the rich Aurelia relieved him. Smarting from real or fancied personal wrongs, and fired with ambition, Catiline readily mistook his own cause for that of the public — a mental procedure by no means without parallel. By nature he was peculiarly fitted to be the leader of a discontented faction. All authorities, even Cicero, agree as to the dignity of his birth, his rare intellectual equipment, and the persuasive charm of his personality. At first, his intentions were to seek reform through legitimate channels. He offered himself for the consulship twice, and his second candidacy seemed sure of success. However, a very unusual turn of circumstances, an unexpected combination of interests, defeated him, although it carried in Antonius, whom he had planned to have as colleague. The other new consul, Cicero, was a man of great abilities, but, as Ferrero terms him, a 'notorious political trimmer'—a professional advocate, not over-consistent in his acceptance of cases, who had even numbered Catiline among his clients. Further, he was of mean birth, a *novus homo*. This defeat was too much for the proud patrician Catiline, and he at once set on foot plans for an active revolution, which he seems to have thought could be rather easily accomplished. Cicero, however, inordinately vain of his new honor, and desirous at all costs of making a name for himself, forced the hand of Catiline. In a fiery speech in the senate he brought to bear all the tricks

of his consummate oratory, with the result that Catiline, finding his backers stupefied into silence, was forced to leave the city. There is but little doubt that Cicero had slight positive evidence against Catiline when he delivered this speech. There is even a grave suspicion that some of its charges were invented for the occasion; for Cicero was a wily politician, as is shown by his display at one time of his gorget, to create the impression that his life was in danger. However, the oration served its purpose, Catiline departed, and Cicero daily grew in favor with the people.

Like all popular leaders, Catiline had a motley crowd for a following—men with all manner of grievances, agreed in nothing save that they were malcontents. As long as he was personally in Rome, he was able in a measure to curb his subordinates, and to preserve at least a factitious unity in his party. Once he was away, however, things became chaotic. That portion of his followers dominated by the hot-headed Cethegus and the credulous Lentulus, whom the purple lure of empire had made mad, decided on strenuous measures. The slaves were to rise, the senate was to be slaughtered, the city to be fired (possibly it was Cicero's charges that first inspired some of these plans). Of course, the result was inevitable. Catiline was not yet prepared for open war; but the incredible stupidity of his adherents in attempting to tamper with Rome's allies, the Allobroges, and the consequent discovery, compelled him to trust to the fortunes of battle. The outcome is well known.

The view I here take of Catiline's conspiracy is substantially that of Ferrero, Merimée, and Speck. That Catiline was bad I admit, but one must give even the devil his due. To the stories as to Catiline's former conspiracy, in which Crassus and Cæsar were alleged to be implicated, and which I have mentioned in my Notes

as part of the current gossip, I give no credence. Not only the evil that men do lives after them, but much that they never even thought of doing. Catiline had the misfortune to have two prejudiced biographers, and has suffered unjustly in consequence. However, as I remarked before, we cannot blame Jonson for accepting the authorities he found, because his was an uncritical age. But it is a cruel paradox that this tragedy, on which such vast pains were spent for absolute accuracy, should be, after all, so largely mistaken.

### 6. *Jonson as a Translator*

'Drummond was right when he wrote, "Above all things he (Jonson) excelleth in a Translation." As his two tragedies show . . . the thing he could do supremely well was to turn the lifelessness of the classics into terms of contemporary vitality. In the best sense of the word, no better translator ever lived: he never forgot that faithfulness to his original is only half the task of the translator, who adds only to the dead weight of printed matter if he fail to bear to living men, in living language, tidings that without him were to them unmeaning' (Barrett Wendell, in *Library of World's Best Literature*, vol. 14).

With this criticism I heartily agree. So, also, in the main, does Miss Wright in her unpublished thesis which I have several times mentioned. Indeed, Miss Wright's criticism of Jonson's translations is so lucid and so capable that it would be supererogatory for me to add to it; so I shall reproduce the main portion of it here.

'Let us turn now to a particular consideration of the method employed by Jonson in rendering Sallust and Cicero into Elizabethan English, and the success with which he accomplished his task. Let us take two speeches, one from Sallust and one from Cicero, on which to base our study, in which we must have in mind the

two points of view from which every translation should be judged. We must observe, first, in what way and how successfully the translation preserves the diction and sense of the original,—whether diction is sacrificed to sense, or sense to diction, or whether both or neither have been effectively kept. In the second place, the translation must be judged, with no regard to its origin, as a piece of English composition.

'In comparing Jonson's version of Catiline's address to the conspirators with that speech as found in Sallust's *Catiline* 20, the first point to be noticed is the number and nature of his original insertions, which are not introduced for the sake of adding any new thought, but for the sake of developing and emphasizing the thought already expressed in Sallust. The best example of such an insertion for emphasis is the one introduced between 1. 394 and 405, where Jonson seems inspired by Catiline's indignation at the arrogance and extravagance of the Roman potentates to break away from his model, and to pile up accusation after accusation against the offenders, concluding with one of the most forcible and striking figures of the play:

> We, all this while, like calme, benum'd Spectators,
> Sit, till our seates doe cracke; and doe not heare
> The thundring ruines.

Another example of a passage inserted for the sake of making the point more emphatic is found in the translation of Sallust's "vulgus fuimus," which Jonson renders:

> Are hearded with the vulgar; and so kept,
> As we were onley bred, to consume corne;
> Or weare out wooll; to drinke the cities water.

Many of Jonson's original lines were brought in to make clear the transition of thought between two sentences, the connection between which would not have been

sufficiently brought out by a literal translation. Lines 345–346 are a good example of this kind of insertion. In lines 352–353,

> The riches of the world flowes to their coffers
> And not to Romes,

what has been said in the preceding five lines is summarized, and the main idea emphasized, in a manner which gives the necessary clearness and completeness to the thought.

'Besides taking such pains to bring out clearly the point of thought, Jonson also strives, by the addition of metaphors and figurative language, to make it forcible and poetic. His most successful attempt thus to beautify some prosaic statement is in his translation of Sallust's, "his obnoxii quibus, si respublica valeret, formidini essemus," which he translates,

> Trembling beneath their rods: to whom, (if all
> Were well in *Rome*) we should come forth bright axes.

Other figurative translations are:

> "potentium"—the giants of the state. (348)
> "quis mortalium tollere potest"—It doth strike my soule. (374)
> "divitias superare"—Swell with treasure. (377)
> "divitiae, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt"—
> Behold, renowne, riches and glory court you (411), etc.

'But Jonson's method of translation in general can be best shown by a word-for-word comparison of some connected passage in *Catiline* with the passage corresponding to it in Sallust. Let us take, for example, the first ten lines of the speech. The first sentence of this in Sallust is as follows:

> Ni virtus fidesque vestra spectata mihi forent, nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio, in manibus frustra fuissent; neque ego per ignaviam, aut vana ingenia, incerta pro certis captarem.

The first clause, "Ni virtus fidesque vestra spectata mihi forent," is translated by Jonson:

> Noblest *Romanes*,
> If you were lesse, or that your faith, and vertue
> Did not hold good that title with your bloud.

This is certainly the freest sort of translation. The sense of the clause is kept, but only two words, "virtus fidesque," are translated literally. The address, *Noblest Romanes*, and the ingenious play on the word *noble* are original, and the latter adds new suggestion to the original idea, though it must be admitted that the expression is a bit obscure.

'The next two clauses, "nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio, in manibus frustra fuissent," are rendered by Jonson so freely that the result can be called translation only in the broadest sense of the word. He has gathered up the meaning of the clauses, and expressed it in a very general way, when he says,

> I should not, now, vnprofitably spend
> Myselfe in words,

in which the word *vnprofitably* carries the whole point of Sallust's meaning.

'The last clause of the sentence follows Sallust more closely, but is still quite free. Sallust had said, "neque ego per ignaviam aut vana ingenia, incerta pro certis captarem" and Jonson translates this:

> Or catch at empty hopes
> By ayrie ways, for solide certainties;

in which sentence, *catch at* translates "captarem;" *by ayrie ways*, "per ignaviam aut vana ingenia;" *empty hopes*, "incerta"; and *for solide certainties*, "pro certis." In these five lines, surely, Jonson has effectually dis-

proved Professor Herford's statement[1] that Jonson's translations were characterized by 'rigid fidelity.'

'It is, however, true that most of Jonson's work is not so notably free as the passage given above. The next five lines, which follow the original a little more closely, and yet with no slavish subservience to the form in which the Latin expresses itself, are more typical of Jonson's average work. The first clause of the sentence is characteristic of Jonson's style of translation where he follows Sallust more closely: "Sed quia multis et magnis tempestatibus, vos cognovi fortes fidesque—"

> But since in many, and the greatest dangers
> I still haue knowne you no lesse true, then valiant—

a faithful translation, but expressed in such easy and rhythmical English that the adjective "rigid" could certainly not be applied to it. The rest of the passage:

> eo animus ausus maximum atque pulcherimum facinus incipere; simul, quia vobis eadem, quae mihi, bona malaque intellexi; nam idem velle atque nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est

is translated:

> And that I tast, in you, the same affections
> To will or nill, to thinke things good, or bad,
> Alike with me: (which argues your firme friendship)
> I dare the boldlier, with you, set on foot,
> Or leade, vnto this great, and goodliest action.

Here Jonson has cleverly changed the order, and woven together the more or less disconnected clauses of the original into a compact whole, while he has rendered the Latin into flowing and forceful English in a manner which gives an accurate rendering of the thought and feeling of the original, and yet does not allow itself to be trammeled by a too conscientious fidelity.

[1] See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

'Comparing Jonson's translation as a whole with Sallust's version of the speech of Catiline, we find, then, that he has brought out Sallust's ideas clearly, emphatically, and accurately. His work is characterized by an ease and smoothness not found in Sallust's succession of short, abrupt sentences. It nowhere degenerates into a servile word-for-word rendering of the original, and is dominated throughout by spirit and energy.

'Now it is a strange fact that, although a close comparison of the kind which we have just made will prove Jonson's translations to be remarkably free, a hasty reading without such comparison is likely to leave the impression that they are slavishly literal—a fact which no doubt explains the cause of so many really unjust criticisms. This is due to a certain peculiarity in Jonson's style, which I shall now try to illustrate and explain by a comparison of Cicero's speech in the Senate with its original in the first Catilinarian. The peculiarity to which I refer is the frequency of Latinisms, or the use of derivatives or equivalents of Latin words in their native, not their English, sense.

'In order to illustrate what I mean in my comparison of Jonson and Cicero, I shall not be able, as in the speech just discussed, to use one connected passage for detailed analysis, but shall be compelled to base my conclusions on a selection of the sentences in which this characteristic is most strikingly brought out. In the six following clauses, it will be noticed that each of the chief words is used in the distinctly Latin meaning of the word which it translates, and that this gives an effect of rather servile following of the Latin. The phrase in Jonson's rendering, *Speake, and this shall conuince thee* is a free translation of Cicero's "convincam, si negas," in which Jonson's *convince* is a Latinism for "convict." *Aske my counsell, I perswade it,* translates "Si me

consulis, suadeo." *What domesticke note Of priuate filthinesse* translates "Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis," where the word *note* is made to carry the meaning of the Latin word "nota," "a brand." In the phrase, *Who Of such a frequency*, translating "quis ex hac tanta frequentia," the word *frequency* means, like the Latin "frequentia," "a crowd." *So much consent* is a translation of "tantam consensionem," "so much unanimity"; and in the sentence, *All shall be cleere, made plaine, oppres'd, reueng'd*, a comparison with the Latin "omnia patefacta illustrata, oppressa, vindicata esse videatis" shows that the word *oppressed* really means "suppressed", as does the Latin "oppressa."

'Now this is the kind of translation that the ordinary schoolboy is apt to make, on account, perhaps, of a lack of vocabulary, or an inherent indisposition to take the trouble to think up the exact word; and Jonson has received no little abuse because of it. A glance through the pages of *Catiline* will show, however, that these Latinisms are used not only in translations, but also frequently throughout the play. His *Sejanus*, too, is full of them. But it will also be noticed that they are used comparatively rarely in his comedies. The frequent use of a peculiar diction throughout two plays, and a rare use of it elsewhere, would seem to indicate a special purpose for its introduction in those particular instances. And undoubtedly Jonson had such a purpose. Just as we saw, in studying his treatment of the recorded facts of the conspiracy, what pains he took to produce on his hearers exactly the effect which would have been produced on them by reading Sallust or Cicero, so now we see this same idea showing itself in his method of translation. His appeal in each case is to the *reader extraordinary*, who is familiar with Sallust and Cicero, in whose mind he hopes the Anglicized Latin words will

rouse the memories and associations connected with their Latin use. Relying on the subtle suggestiveness which all these words contain, on account of their intimate connection in our minds with the thoughts and literature of ancient Rome, he strives to bring us back as nearly as possible into the spirit and atmosphere of the world of Catiline and Cicero. Jonson's purpose is the same as that of certain writers who, in picturing scenes of days gone by, make their characters speak in quaint and stilted language, to give a flavor of reality. The weakness in this method is that it produces the required illusion only in those who are very familiar with the Latin language. The uninitiated, thinking that the words are used in their customary sense, find them often unmeaning in the connection in which they occur, and sometimes even inconsistent. A striking example of this is found in the first sentence of Jonson's translation of Catiline's speech to the conspirators. There he translates the Latin "virtus"—meaning "courage," "capability"—by its English derivative, "virtue." The *reader in ordinarie*, taking the word in its accustomed English sense, wonders that it should be used to describe a band of men to whom no quality could have been less appropriately attributed. And here I must mention another thing that Jonson does less frequently, but with the same purpose; namely, the introduction now and then into his play of a word-for-word translation of some Latin idiom. In 4. 823, for instance, Cicero says,

> My vertue
> (Will) glad me, doing well, though I heare ill,

the last two words of which are a literal rendering of the Latin idiom, "audire male," "to be ill spoken of." In 1. 416, *vse me your generall* translates "imperatore me utimini," where *your generall* is made predicate apposi-

tive to *me*, as in the Latin clause. Jonson speaks of *this one CATILINE* (4. 444) instead of saying "Catiline alone," as if he were translating the Latin "unus Catilina"; and when he wishes to say that something is inconsistent with something else, he uses the expression *abhorring from* (5. 479), evidently having in mind the Latin construction "abhorrens ab."

'It can easily be seen how a superficial critic, not noticing that these Latinisms and Latin idioms are used in the original parts of Jonson's play, as well as in the translations, nor realizing the purpose for which they were introduced, might consider them the earmarks of uninspired renderings.'

### 7. *Jonson's Debt to Seneca*

In many ways we must call *Catiline* a Senecan tragedy. It is certainly not tragedy exactly such as Seneca wrote, but it would seem that Jonson certainly believed he was reproducing Senecan traditions. The play opens with the familiar Senecan ghost, introduced with much the same purpose as the overture to a Wagnerian opera. There is the Senecan dearth of rapid movement, although *Catiline* has considerably more real progression than is usual with Seneca. Further, the hero (if we way call him such) is a thoroughly depraved character, not at all resembling the Greek tragic heroes: and such a hero and his career of crime are what Seneca delights to portray. The long dialogues, full of *sententiæ* (such as *The vicious count their yeeres, vertuous their acts*, etc.), the choruses having no connection with the dramatic action, and the use of portents, as if Nature reflected man's moods, are also thoroughly Senecan. However, it is in the character of Catiline that Seneca's influence shows most plainly. Catiline in Sallust is immensely practical, and never works himself up into such frenzies of rage and hate, in which

he breathes out fire and slaughter against all who oppose him, as Jonson has him do, for instance, in the furious rant of 4. 640–658. The character of Cethegus is also quite after Seneca's manner. A final and convincing proof that Jonson had an eye to Seneca is the imitation of *Thyestes* in the very opening lines of *Catiline*.[1]

## 8. *Catiline in the Drama*

Catiline has been a much more ancient and popular dramatic figure than has been commonly supposed. Even before the appearance in 1470 of the *editio princeps* of Sallust, there was performed at Florence the *Istoria Fiorentina* of Ricordano Malespinis, a dramatic chronicle beginning with Adam, and including such other well-known mythological characters as Electra, Dardanus, Hercules, etc. The thirteenth section of this rather monumental performance treated of Catiline and 'della congiura, che fe Catellino con certi Romani.' From all reports, however, Malespinis' treatment of history was, to say the least, highly fanciful, as Attila (!) plays a prominent part in the plot.[2]

Preceding Ben Jonson's play came at least two English Catiline-dramas. About 1578 Stephen Gosson produced *Catillins Conspiracies*, a tragedy. Gosson was a sturdy Puritan, and put out a tract against the stage, *The School of Abuse*, in 1579. However, as he says in that pamphlet, tragedies are 'tollerable at sometyme,' and this one, 'a Pig of myne owne Sowe' as he styles it, he frankly confesses to be of that sort. This play is unfortunately lost, as is also another, mentioned in Mr. Henslowe's MSS., *Catiline's Conspiracy*, by Robert

[1] See Notes.

[2] For a full discussion of this, see Hermann B. G. Speck, *Katilina im Drama der Weltliteratur*.

Wilson and Harry Chettle, acted in 1598. As Gifford ably argues, however, Jonson's use of original authorities is so marked that it is highly improbable that he owed anything to either of these productions.

Catiline by no means ceased to be an attractive figure with the appearance of Jonson's drama. In Dr. Speck's *Katilina im Drama der Weltliteratur*, a *Katilina* is recorded as late as 1905. Dr. Speck gives a list, thirty-nine titles in all, of plays dealing with Catiline, which is here reproduced, with occasional restoration of an original language.

Stephen Gosson, *Catillins Conspiracies*. Before 1579.
R. Wilson und H. Chettle, *Catiline's Conspiracy*. 1598.
Ben Jonson, *Catiline his Conspiracy*. 1611.
*Rhetorische Sallustübung, am Magdalenæum zu Breslau*. 1658.
*Actus Oratorius Sallustianus, zu Görlitz*. 1669.
*Conjuracion de Catilina* (Spanish; undated; anonymous).
Fénelon, *Dialogues des Morts*. 1710.
*The Conspirators, or the Case of Catiline*. 1721.
Pellegrin, *Catilina*. 1742.
P. J. Crébillon, *Catilina*. 1748.
Cargula, *Parodia del Catilina, trag. de Crébillon*. 1749.
*Catilina, Ambitionis Victima*. Salzburg. 1749.
Voltaire, *Rome Sauvée* (*Catilina*). 1754.
E. v. Kleist, *Charon und Katilina*. 1759.
Karl B. Stieff, *Catilina am Elilzabetan zu Breslau*. 1782.
J. G. Casti, *Catilina*. Before 1792 (opera).
A. von Perglas, *Katilina*. 1808.
J. O. Rauscher, *Katilina*. 1813.

Croly, *Catilina.* 1822.
Grillparzer, *Katilina. Circa* 1822.
*Catiline.* 1823 (historical tragedy by the anonymous author of *The Indian merchant*).
Platen, *Katilina.* ?
H. von Schmid, *Katilina.* 1824.
A. E. Guichard, *Catilina Romantique.* 1844.
Fr. Dingelstedt, *Katilina. Circa* 1846 (incomplete).
Dumas-Maquet, *Catilina.* 1848.
H. Ibsen, *Katilina.* 1850.
F. Kürnberger, *Katilina.* 1855.
Karl Schroeder, *Die Verschwörung des Katilina.* 1855.
H. Lingg, *Katilina.* 1864.
P. Bettòli, *Catilina.* 1875.
H. Pöhnl, *Katilina.* 1877.
A. Goss, *Katilina.* 1885.
Th. Curti, *Katilina.* 1892.
H. zu Ysentorff, *Videant.* 1899.
S. Lublinski, *Der Imperator.* 1901 (a Cæsar-drama, in which Catiline figures).
H. Eulenberg, *Künstler und Katilinarier.* 1902.
Luise Wohl, *Höllenvision.* 1902.
Adolf Bartels, *Katilina.* 1905.

*The Conspirators, or the Case of Catiline,* which is quoted anonymously in the above list, has been inserted by mistake. This was not a play, but a very indifferent historical essay, culled for the most part from Sallust, by one Thomas Gordon. To the above list should be added a Latin play in MS., *Catilina Triumphans,* of uncertain date, probably *circa* 1595.

Of the plays mentioned in this list, I have been able personally to examine only those by Crébillon, Voltaire,

Croly, and Dumas-Maquet. None of these hae much in common with Jonson, nor, indeed, with history. In Crébillon's drama, Cicero is so far entrapped by Catiline's wiles as to entrust him with a command in the army; and at the end, Catiline commits suicide in the temple of Tellus, in company with Cicero's daughter Tullia, whom he loves. In Voltaire's play, Aurelia is a lovable woman, totally ignorant of Catiline's baseness, who dies from a broken heart on discovering in her husband the murderer of her father and the betrayer of his country; and the *dénouement* is brought about by Cæsar, who, refusing to join the conspirators, commands in the battle that subdues them. In Croly's production (quite a readable one, by the way), Catiline is at first well-meaning, but is urged on by his wife, who somewhat resembles Lady Macbeth; in the final scene, Catiline dies just as he has been informed that his troops have swept all before them. In the joint work by Dumas-Maquet—a very spirited and rapid piece, but wildly romantic—the prologue presents Catiline's rape of a vestal; later, Cicero plans to murder Catiline for the good of Rome, and Catiline is saved, just in the nick of time, by Charinus, his newly found son by the vestal; Cicero wins his election to the consulship through a rank fraud performed by Fulvia, who loves him; Aurelia, a veritable devil, discovering the existence of Charinus, kills him, and pours his blood into the pledge-cup of the conspirators; and Catiline, on discovering this horrible deed, takes his life.

The play by Ibsen, one of several Catiline-dramas resulting from the 'March-Revolution' of 1848, I have, unfortunately, not been able to find in translation. That it bears any relation to Jonson, however, I consider improbable.

## D. Critical Estimates

'Starke Stilisierung zeigt sich in der Charakteristik der Personen. Jonson hat eine eigenartige aber auf medizinischen Anschauungen der Renaissancezeit beruhende Theorie der Charaktere, die der sogenannten "humours", worunter das einseitige Hervortreten einer Eigenschaft zu verstehen ist. Dies macht sich auch im Katilina bis in die Nebenpersonen hinein bemerkbar. Katilina ist immer und überall der gleiche energische, wild auf sein Ziel losstürmende Gewaltmensch, eine Entwicklung und Steigerung findet kaum statt. Cethegus ist stets der Draufgänger, Lentulus kommt immer und immer wieder mit seiner Weissagung und seinem Aberglauben, selbst den Allobrogern tischt er ihn auf. Sempronia führt unausgesetzt ihr Griechisch im Munde, und Cicero hält lange Reden, wo er geht und steht. Es ist aber nicht gerechtfertigt das so scharf zu tadeln, wie Sägelken es tut, denn jede Stilisierung—und auf eine solche geht Jonson offenbar aus—beruht auf einer Herausarbeitung des Wesentlichen unter Auslassung des Nebensächlichen und tut somit in gewissem Sinne der Natur Gewalt an. Da es dem Dichter zudem in Komödie wie Tragödie auf eine Darstellung von Typen und allgemeinen Zuständen ankam, so erscheint sein Verfahren ganz richtig. Auch darf man nicht vergessen, dass die Charaktere durch diese Vereinfachung an Wucht und Gewalt gewinnen, was sie an naturalistischer Lebenswahrheit verlieren.

'Katilina erscheint denn auch bei Jonson als eine ins Riesenhafte gesteigerte Verbrechernatur, deren Berechtigung eben, wie schon in der Einleitung hervorgehoben wurde, in der überwältigenden Macht ihres Auftretens liegt. Dabei hat der Dichter eigentlich nichts getan, um ihm würdige Gegner zu geben. Denn Cicero

macht sich mit seinen vielen schönen Reden fast etwas lächerlich, Kato und Katulus werden zu ziemlich farblosen Nebenpersonen herabgedrückt und auch das nicht sehr würdige Benehmen von Cäsar und Krassus dient nur dazu, um die Partei der Verschwörer, die die reichste Mannigfaltigkeit an kraftvollen Charakteren aufweist, in ein günstigeres Licht zu setzen.

'Ausserdem wird Katilina noch mit allerhand sympathischen Charakterzügen, wie der Liebe zu seiner Gattin, mit überlegener Klugheit und Menschenkenntnis, unglaublicher Energie und unbeugsamem Trotze ausgestattet, und schliesslich löscht sein heldenhafter Tod, nachdem er mit grösster Tapferkeit bis zum letzten Atemzuge gekämpft, viele von seinen früheren Schandtaten aus. Katilina ist also ein Verbrecher aus Ehrgeiz im grössten Stile, ein "erhabenes Scheusal", das auftritt wie eine wilde, schaurigschöne Naturgewalt. Er wird zwar unterdrückt und vernichtet, aber nicht eigentlich überwunden, das heisst zur Anerkennung gezwungen, dass seine Gegner im Rechte sind. Im Gegenteil, die allgemein verderbten Zustände des Staates rechtfertigen sogar grösstenteils sein Vorgehen, fällt er doch schliesslich nur der Eifersucht einer Frau und einem geschickten Spionagesystem zum Opfer. Wir haben also hier eine Darstellung vor uns, die dem Bilde der antiken Quellen von Katilina in allen seinen Teilen völlig gerecht wird, Jonsons Drama ist eine klassische Behandlung des Katilinastoffes. Es besteht eben unzweifelhaft eine innere Verwandtschaft zwischen diesem Stoffe und dem Geiste der Spätrenaissance.'—H. B. G. Speck. *Katilina im Drama der Weltliteratur*, pp. 26—28.

'Aussi bien quoi qu'il fasse, quels que soient ses défauts, sa morgue, sa dureté de touche, sa préoccupation de la morale et du passé, ses instincts d'antiquaire et de censeur, il n'est jamais petit ni plat. En vain dans ses

tragédies latines, *Séjan*, *Catilina*, il s'enchaîne dans le culte des vieux modèles usés de la décadence romaine ; il a beau faire l'écolier, fabriquer des harangues de Cicéron, insérer des chœurs imités de Sénèque, déclamer à la façon de Lucain et des rhéteurs de l'empire, il atteint plus d'une fois l'accent vrai ; à travers la pédanterie, la lourdeur, l'adoration littéraire des anciens, la nature a fait éruption ; il retrouve du premier coup les crudités, les horreurs, la lubricité grandiose, la dépravation effrontée de la Rome impériale ; il manie et met en action les concupiscences et les férocités, les passions de courtisanes et de princesses, les audaces d'assassins et de grands hommes qui ont fait les Messaline, les Agrippine, les Catilina et les Tibère. On va droit au but et intrépidement dans cette Rome ; la justice et la pitié n'y sont point des barrières. Parmi ces mœurs de conquérants et d'esclaves, la nature humaine s'est renversée, et la corruption comme la scélératesse y sont regardées comme des marques de perspicacité et d'energie.'—H. A. Taine. *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*, 2. 107—8.

'*Catiline* is an historical tragedy of exceptionable merit ; save for the fortuitous interest which the problem of the character of Tiberius excites in *Sejanus*, the later[1] must be pronounced the superior play. Consummate is the portraiture of conspirators—braggart Cethegus ; Lentulus, voluptuary and dreamer ; savage and desperate Catiline ; and skillful is the contrast of these with prudent Cato and with Cicero, eloquent to the verge of garrulity and appreciative of his own abilities and achievements to a point that halts just short of comedy. But if Jonson's fidelity to the greater portraits of history is worthy of praise, not less admirable is the effect which he has contrived to produce in representing to us, with a

[1] *Catiline* (1611) was later than *Sejanus* (1605).

vividness which only the stage can attain, the social life of ancient Rome. The scenes in which figure the fickle, wanton Fulvia, and Sempronia, vain of her knowledge of Greek and ambitious to be dabbling in politics, are second to nothing in the satirical high comedy that the age has left us.

'But there is yet another aspect in which Jonson's later Roman tragedy deserves serious attention. *Catiline* is alike the final expression of Jonson's theories as to English tragedy and one of the most successful among English tragedies modeled on ancient dramatic theories and ideals. For although Jonson, be it reaffirmed, was no supine classicist, but believed, to use his own words, that "we should enjoy the same license or free power to illustrate and heighten our invention as the ancients did; and not be tied to those strict and regular forms, which the niceness of a few—who are nothing but form—would thrust upon us";[1] yet *Catiline* shows, as compared with *Sejanus*, a retrogression to earlier ideals and a stricter regard for the minor practices if not the larger spirit of Seneca. Thus the drama opens with an Induction in which figures the ghost of Sylla; and lyrical choruses in a variety of metres interlard the acts. But these, as Gifford put it, are "spoken by no one, and addressed to no one,"[2] and, although at times of great literary excellence, are absolutely inorganic. *Catiline* with its historical portraiture, its consummate dramatic dialogue and constructive excellence, is no Senecan drama. That Jonson should have fallen short of absolute success in these Roman tragedies of his mature years is wholly due neither to the defects in his theory nor to his limitations as an author. The trend of the

[1] *Every Man Out*, Induction.

[2] Gifford, *Wks.* 4. 189.

age was against such art, as the trend of our age is against it. And when Swinburne dubs *Sejanus* "a magnificent mistake" and esteems *Catiline* as valuable alone for its proof "that Jonson could do better, but not much better, on the same rigid lines,"[1] with due respect for the superlative powers of a great poet, we must keep in mind that we have rhapsodic and impressionistic art for the nonce arrayed in judicial robes and sitting in judgment on all, in short, that it is not.'—F. E. Schelling. *Elizabethan Drama* 2. 33—35.

'The tragedy of *Catiline his Conspiracy* gave evidence in the following year that the author of *Sejanus* could do better, but could not do much better, on the same rigid lines of rhetorical and studious work which he had followed in the earlier play.[2] Fine as is the opening of this too laborious tragedy, the stately verse has less of dramatic movement than of such as might be proper—if such a thing could be—for epic satire cast into the form of dialogue. Catiline is so mere a monster of ravenous malignity and irrational atrocity that he simply impresses us as an irresponsible though criminal lunatic: and there is something so preposterous, so abnormal, in the conduct and language of all concerned in his conspiracy, that nothing attributed to them seems either rationally credible or logically incredible. Coleridge, in his notes on the first act of this play, expresses his conviction that one passage[3] must surely have fallen into the wrong place—such action at such a moment being impossible for any human creature. But the whole atmosphere is unreal, the whole action unnatural: no one thing said or done is less unlike the truth

[1] *A Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 56. [2] *Sejanus*.

[3] The reference is to 1. 505ff. The incident may be in questionable taste; but Coleridge probably misunderstood its purpose. See lv, *infra*.

of life than any other; the writing is immeasurably better than the style of the ranting tragedian Seneca, but the treatment of character is hardly more serious as a study of humanity than his. In fact, what we find here is exactly what we find in the least successful of Jonson's comedies: a study, not of humanity, but of humours. The bloody humour of Cethegus, the braggart humour of Curius, the sluggish humour of Lentulus, the swaggering humour of Catiline himself—as huffcap hero as ever mouthed and strutted out his hour on the stage—all these alike fall under the famous definition of his favourite phrase which the poet had given twelve years before in the induction to the second of his acknowledged comedies.[1] And a tragedy of humours is hardly less than a monster in nature—or rather in that art which "itself is nature." Otherwise the second act must be pronounced excellent: the humours of the rival harlots, the masculine ambition of Sempronia, the caprices and cajoleries of Fulvia, are drawn with Jonson's most self-conscious care and skill. But the part of Cicero is burden enough to stifle any play: and some even of the finest passages, such as the much-praised description of the dying Catiline, fine though they be, are not good in the stricter sense of the word; the rhetorical sublimity of their diction comes most perilously near the verge of bombast. Altogether, the play is another magnificent mistake; and each time we open or close it we find it more difficult to believe that the additions made by its author some ten years before to *The Spanish Tragedy* can possibly have been those printed in the later issues of that famous play. Their subtle and spontaneous notes of nature, their profound and searching pathos, their strange and thrilling tone of

[1] *Every Man Out.*

reality, the beauty and the terror and the truth of every touch, are the signs of a great, a very great tragic poet: and it is all but unimaginable that such an one could have been, but a year or so afterwards, the author of *Sejanus* and again, eight years later, the author of *Catiline*. There is fine occasional writing in each, but it is not dramatic: and there is good dramatic work in each, but it is not tragic.'—A. C. Swinburne. *A Study of Ben Jonson*, pp. 56—59.

'A fondness for judging one work by comparison with others, perhaps altogether of a different class, argues a vulgar taste. Yet it is chiefly on this principle that the Catiline has been rated so low. Take it and Sejanus, as compositions of a particular kind, namely, as a mode of relating great historical events in the liveliest and most interesting manner, and I cannot help wishing that we had whole volumes of such plays. We might as rationally expect the excitement of the Vicar of Wakefield from Goldsmith's History of England, as that of Lear, Othello, &c, from the Sejanus or Catiline. . . .

'What a strange notion Ben must have formed of a determined, remorseless, all-daring, fool-hardiness, to have represented it in such a mouthing Tamburlane, and bombastic tongue-bully as this Cethegus of his!'—S. T. Coleridge. *Works* 4. 193—94.

Although this array of opinions is already formidable enough, I cannot resist the temptation to include part of Voltaire's preface to his *Catilina*, because it is so refreshingly naïve.

'Nous avons toujours cru, & on s'était confirmé plus que jamais dans l'idée, que *Cicéron* est un des caractères qu'il ne faut jamais mettre sur le théâtre. Les Anglais, qui hazardent tout sans même savoir qu'ils hazardent, ont fait une tragédie de la conspiration de *Catilina*. *Ben-Johnson* n'a pas manqué, dans cette tragédie histo-

rique, de traduire sept ou huit pages des *Catilinaires*, & meme il les a traduites en prose, ne croyant pas que l'on pût faire parler *Cicéron* en vers. La prose du consul, & les vers des autres personnages, font à la verité un contraste digne de la barbarie du siècle de *Ben-Johnson*; mais pour traiter un sujet si sévère, si dénué de ces passions qui ont tant d'empire sur le cœur, il faut avouer qu'il fallait avoir affaire à un peuple sérieux & instruit, digne en quelque sorte qu'on mit sous ses yeux l'ancienne Rome. . . . On n'a point fait paraître les députés des Allobroges, qui n'étaient point des ambassadeurs de nos Gaules, mais des agens d'une petite province d'Italie soumise aux Romains, qui ne firent que le personnage de délateurs, & qui par là sont indignes de figurer sur la scène avec *Cicéron, César & Caton.*'

It will be seen that there is no little divergence of opinion here, and a moment spent in endeavoring to reconcile the disagreeing doctors may not be amiss. Speck and Swinburne state that *Catiline* is substantially a play of 'humours,' and such, too, is the latent inference in Coleridge's brief note. Schelling, Swinburne, and Taine alike dwell on the vigor of Jonson's pictures of Roman social life in the early Decadence; and does not this tally with Swinburne's statement that 'there is fine occasional writing, but it is not dramatic: and there is good dramatic work, but it is not tragic?' I really think Swinburne has touched the heart of the matter in these words.

The speeches of Catiline to the conspirators and to his troops, and Cicero's two speeches in the senate, are fine bits, not only as translation but as literature; yet they are after all occasional, and not in any true sense dramatic. Even Gifford incorporated in his edition a note to the effect that Cicero's long oration would tax the lungs of any actor. On the other hand, the second

act—which seems to me the most dramatic of all, with its masterly portrait of the vain and pampered Sempronia, and its skilful hints at Fulvia's jealousy (whereby Rome is finally to be saved)—is not at all tragic. Nor can the characters be considered truly tragic. Take Catiline. Swinburne is too supercilious in the utter dismissal of him as impossible, for he is really splendidly conceived. He rants at times, but the rant is never pure fustian. In many instances he is cruel to the limits of credibility, but the limits are never actually exceeded; and we must always remember that the Elizabethan stage abounded in superb villains. The audacity, the dissimulation, the persuasiveness, the cunning, the dominant intellectuality of Catiline—all these are skilfully developed. But with all this, Catiline is not a tragic figure. The fault does not lie, it appears to me, in Jonson's deliberate rejection of Aristotle for Seneca. Shakspere's *Richard III* hit Aristotle's theory of the necessary respectability of the tragic hero a severe blow. But Shakspere had a much larger sense of the true values of life than Jonson. Physical death in his dramas is never the real tragedy, but merely an incident: the tragedy in *Richard* is in the decay and utter degradation before us of a human soul. A conception like this never occurs to Jonson in *Catiline*, and physical death is the all-in-all; so that, as our sympathies are never once aroused, the end does not move us.

The same strictures may be applied to the characters of the other conspirators. Cethegus and Lentulus, especially, are very dramatic and effective portraitures, but they utterly lack tragic dignity. Well done as they are, they are out of place.

Cicero, too, seems to me essentially an undramatic figure, although wonderfully drawn. True to life, he is long-winded to the point of boredom, and inordinately given to praising his own motives and deeds; but

despite this, as Schelling points out, there is about him a certain large dignity and air of sincerity that invest him with considerable charm. Especially human is his reference to Terentia in speaking to Fulvia, which might be paraphrased thus: 'I could learn to love you, but my wife won't let me!' Another instance of the same sort is the sneering remark that probably his wife has sent him cautions 'how to behave him.' These touches make him seem very real and very near to us, and give us a much closer personal interest in him than his saving of Rome ever could. We view heroes as a rule impersonally until we learn some little intimate thing about them which brings home to us that they are men even as ourselves: who, after hearing of poor Socrates' beratings by Xantippe, does not thrill more sympathetically at the fatal draught of hemlock? But despite these effective bits of insight, Cicero is not really a dramatic figure. The art displayed in his portrayal is more that of the novelist than of the playwright.

In another section of this Introduction, I have called attention to Jonson's obvious debt to Seneca. *Catiline* is, however, by no means purely Senecan. Seneca lacks frequently a sense of order, which always loomed large with Jonson. For example, authorities told Jonson that Fulvia betrayed the conspirators; but in a drama, where everything requires motivation, the first question that arises is, why? Having no authorities to work on, Jonson was forced to depend on his own imagination, and produced the answer in the brilliant second act. The results there achieved lead one to rather more than suspect that had Jonson not been quite so pedantic, had he had more faith in the validity of his spontaneous instincts, he would more often have attained genuine greatness. As it is, his orderly progression of plot and sure grip on character, together with his toning down of

the riotous decadent elements, reveal that he has made large advances on Seneca, and that he had a thorough knowledge of the necessary mechanics of the drama.

In short, then, although I should not go so far with Swinburne as to call *Catiline* 'a splendid mistake,' I yet consider it what the French would probably call a *drame manqué*, one that has most of the requisite elements, but has not quite 'arrived.' It just falls short of success. Indeed, the method of Jonson in this play practically precludes its complete success. In another section of this Introduction,[1] I have called attention to Jonson's determined efforts to gain 'atmosphere' by his painstaking references to the classics. Not only does he conscientiously follow the authorities in their historical data, but, as I have observed, and as a glance at the Notes will amply verify, he has drawn largely on classical sources for the dialogue. More than that, he has added a vast deal of allusion. Instances of this are fully taken up in the Notes, but it may not be amiss to collect a few here.

We find, for example, references to religion, such as mention of household gods, the household Lar, Mars and Jove as the protectors of Rome, the Sibyl's books, the vestal nuns and the vestal flame; historical allusions to the Gracchi, Cinna, Marius, Hannibal, Sulla, Camillus, Cincinnatus,[2] Tarquin, the Bruti, Decii, Cipi, Curtii, Fabii, and Scipios; reference to Attic statues, Tyrian hangings, Ephesian pictures, Corinthian plate, Attalic garments, ivory tables, gold dishes, pheasants from the river Phasis, and oysters from Circeii; to the tribes and centuries, the method of voting, the lictors, the fasces, rods, and axes; to the Tiber, the seven hills of Rome, Lucrine

[1] See pp. xvi ff.

[2] 2. 128—29: *Rome's poore age, when ... her ... Consuls held the plough.*

Lake, the Milvian Bridge, the Aurelian Way, the temples of Jupiter Stator and Concord, the Alps, and the Tyrrhene Sea. All of these are minutely accurate. So careful, indeed, is Jonson, that he even observes the nice distinctions in Roman oaths.[1] Only two slips can be found in his scholarship: the references to hell, in 1. 553, and to Catiline's candidacy for command in the Pontic war, in 1. 90.

This list of instances is totally independent of the scores of quotations, direct or indirect, imbedded in the play. The sum total of all these leaves very little that is Jonson's own. Now Jonson's genius was sufficient to fuse these various elements in a way impossible for one of mediocre talent, but the complete fulfilling of the task was too much even for him. It would seem that an excessive attention to details inevitably leads to a loss of proper perspective, to a failure to see the forest by reason of the trees. After all, the main object of a play is to be dramatic, to unfold human character in action; and, more than that, to suggest behind each individual character something of the universal: to reveal, in fine, the macrocosm in the microcosm. This is true no less of historical drama than of other forms. The main object is not so much to give accurate history or accurate pictures of social life, as to interpret human traits, emotions, and activities, which in all environments are much the same. Indeed, it may be held that the more local color is gained, the more a serious play loses in force. If we feel that the personages of the play move in a world too utterly unlike our own, under conditions which can never be duplicated in our own lives, the appeal of the drama is either lost or greatly weakened. This is especially true in tragedy, for the element of

[1] See 2. 282 ff., and note.

fear or terror that Aristotle regards as fundamental, can only enter in when we feel that the hero's plight might be our own. It is because of this that the Greek tragedy, stirring as those who understand the Greek conception of life find it, can rarely be successfully staged today, inasmuch as its underlying theory of fate is totally foreign to modern ethical doctrine. *Agamemnon*, as presented at the Sanders Theatre, Harvard, was successful, but its audience was elect. The same may be said of the recent performances of *The Trojan Women* by the Chicago Little Theater Company and others.

What I have said above about undue attention to detail is really, it seems to me, fundamental, and may be illustrated by reference to various phases of art. Take painting as an example. A painter whose methods very closely parallel those of Jonson was Meissonier. For his *1807*, for instance, he bought a wheat-field, and had a company of cuirassiers ride through it, so that he might see how such a field would actually appear; he himself riding beside the troopers, and carefully noting the attitudes of men and horses. For the *1814* he duplicated one of Napoleon's costumes to the last button. And what was the result? Speaking of Meissonier's historical paintings, Kenyon Cox says[1]: 'The best of these ambitions works is perhaps the *1814*. The worst is certainly the *1807*. This picture is almost an entire failure, and yet it possesses every one of the qualities which made Meissonier's greatness, in as high a degree as any earlier work. The industry, the strenuous exactness, the thoroughness, the impeccable draughtsmanship, the sharpness of relief, are all here at their greatest. The amount of labor that the picture represents is simply appalling, and it is almost all wasted, because

[1] In the *Nation* for Dec. 24, 1896.

it is not the kind of labor that was wanted. On all of these figures not a gaiter button is wanting, and the total result of all this addition of detail is simply chaos.' Mr. Cox says further: 'Looked at close at hand, each head, each hand, each strap and buckle is masterly, but, at a distance sufficiently great to permit the whole canvas to be taken in at one glance, nothing is seen but a meaningless glitter. . . . He awakens only admiration, never emotion. His drawing is absolute, his relief startling, he almost gives the illusion of nature; but he never evokes a vision of beauty or charms one into a dream.' In his anxiety to be accurate, the artist missed the effect. The rush, the bustle, the joyous triumph that the *1807* was designed to bring out, are lacking. The very art that makes *The Vedette* and *The Reader in White* masterpieces of their kind, here defeats its own end. A camera can give us mere accuracy; we demand of the artist interpretation.

If any further illustrations be required in this field, the most cursory comparisons of Tissot's treatment of the Gospel narrative with that of other painters will suffice. Tissot, like Meissonier, is at all times precise and accurate. His costumes are authentic (or as nearly so as he could make them); his Temple, as he tells us in the introduction to his work, follows the restoration of the architect Schieck (*sic*); his Golgotha is the proper twenty-two feet high. But compare his work with that of older artists. When we admire the mighty *Christ on the Cross* of Dürer, we never think of its inaccuracies, such as the birch trees in the back ground, the rounded timbers of the cross, the conventional INRI of the inscription. The majestic dignity, the almost unbearable pathos of the lonely Christ, are what thrill us. We feel here the essential mystery of our faith. Tissot's treatment in *It Is Finished* is in marked contrast. Here we

have accurate realism: the rectangular timbers of the rood, the full inscription in Hebrew and Latin, the proper costuming, and a Christ so gory that the picture reeks of the shambles. Not even the intended touch of idealism and symbolism in the group of prophets above (each in eminently correct Jewish dress), with their folded scrolls betokening the fulfilment of prophecy, and the Solomon's seal, can relieve the ghastly effect. Other painters, more naïve, have committed quaint anachronisms, as Bellini, in representing the Madonna with the Magdalen and St. Catherine, St. Peter with a book, St. Jerome, and an angel with a very mediæval viol, together in his altar-piece for the church of San Zaccaria; Botticelli, in representing the Medici, in his *Adoration of the Magi*, with pages and others standing about in costumes of the painter's own times; and da Vinci, in having the guests sitting at the table, instead of reclining, in his *Last Supper*: but compare these works with the corresponding paintings of Tissot, and it will at once be observed how immeasurably the later artist, in his quest for correctness, has sacrificed spiritual significance. And, after all, it is this significance that is really vital.

If we turn to a field so completely in the realm of pure æsthetics as music, we shall find this same principle as to local color obtaining. To cite a modern instance, the late Edward MacDowell composed an *Indian Suite*. For the sake of atmosphere, he made a partial use of Indian music. Speaking of this Suite, Professor Elson says[1]: 'He has built this orchestral work on actual Indian themes, but we do not value this proceeding, since the figures used are utterly unfamiliar to almost every auditor. . . . But the development and the treatment of these figures is another story.' That is to say,

[1] *History of American Music*, p. 185.

MacDowell succeeds not in proportion as he uses the Indian themes, but in proportion as he gets away from them. The thing he must do, to be successful, is to interpret to us the Indian, to make us feel his primitive dignity, the vastness of the woods and prairies that he roamed, the pathos of his passing. Now Indian themes will never make us feel these things, because we respond to totally different stimuli from the Indian, and the very music that is most soulful to him is to us largely a harsh and meaningless noise. The musician must speak to us in terms of our own, if he would have us comprehend him. No one who has heard the third movement of the *Indian Suite* (the *Dirge*) can fail to recognize that MacDowell has interpreted the Indian surpassingly well. In that lament of the mother for her lost warrior-son, we hear the wail of sorrow that is primitive and yet at the same time typical of all sorrow—the same cry that came from the wrung heart of Rachel, and that comes from the wrung hearts of all who are bereaved and refuse to be comforted. But it is not the Indian theme that makes us feel this: it is the romanticization of that theme (something quite foreign to the Indian), the complex harmonic development of that theme.

Now the mission of Jonson as a dramatist was to interpret to us character and life. All the tirades of the conspirators against the decadence of Rome cannot make us realize that decadence so vividly as does the single incident of Catiline and the slave in the first act. All the braggadocio of Cathegus about his bravery and cruelty can not make us adequately realize his character; we must see him *do* something brave and cruel, or he becomes a mere 'tongue-bully.' To have the conspirators quote Lucan's *Pharsalia* may give us an idea of the horrors of internecine war, but it does not interpret the conspirators to us, because the phrases, apt as they are,

lack inevitableness. Too great an attention to detail makes the whole suffer.

If we now turn to a brief survey of successful historical plays, we may see the point in question even more clearly. First let us consider *Julius Cæsar*,[1] like *Catiline* a Roman drama. In this play, Shakspere followed but one authority, North's *Plutarch*, using the lives of Cæsar, Antony, and Brutus. By following but this one source—one remarkably adapted to dramatization—Shakspere gains a unity of tone missed frequently in *Catiline*. Moreover, Shakspere's interest throughout is in the play and the characters, not in the setting and atmosphere. The essential thing is not that Brutus (the real hero) is a Roman, but that he is pathetically mistaken in his theories and actions. The clash of ideas and parties, the destiny of a nation, and the trembling in the balance of the empire of the world—these are the things that hold our imagination, and not the *locale* of the piece. For details of setting, and the like, Shakspere has scant use. Beyond what he found in Plutarch, the allusions are few, and those few largely mistaken. For example, he vaguely considers the Capitol as the meeting-place of the senate;[2] he has a clock strike in Brutus' orchard (2. 1. 192); he speaks of the watch, as if the London custom were likewise a Roman one (2. 2. 16). But none of these things lessens the essential dramatic

[1] For a fuller discussion of local color in *Julius Cæsar* and *Catiline*, see Meinck, *Über das Örtliche und Zeitliche Kolorit in Shakespeare's Römerdramen und Ben Jonson's Catiline*.

[2] For a discussion of this point, noting the various passages, in *Coriolanus*, etc., where Shakspere makes this error, see Lizette Fisher, *Shakespeare and the Capitol*, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 27. 177 ff. From the stricture there made, however, that Jonson 'whisks the Senate about to an extent which would seem to exaggerate the facts,' I must dissent. Jonson had the authority of Cicero, 2 *Cat.* 6, and Sallust, *Cat.* 46, for his meeting-places.

qualities of the play, or detracts from its interpretation of the real historical essentials.

Let us likewise consider for a moment Racine's *Athalie*. This play affords an interesting comparison with *Catiline* in several ways. It is even more severely 'classical' than Jonson's work; and there is an essential similarity in its catastrophe, in that the death of Athaliah, like that of Catiline, is not of great moment, nor productive of any great pathos. Now, in writing this play, Racine very carefully read the authorities—he cites Josephus, Menochius, Estius, and other commentators, in addition to the Bible. But he at all times dominated his sources, and never was dominated by them. He takes a liberty with the age of Joash, for example, by making him nine to ten years old, whereas the Scriptures place his age at seven years. It is surprising, too, in view of the Scriptural theme, how little actual quotation is employed. There is a Biblical largeness of phrasing, but it is the spirit rather than the letter that Racine follows. The same is true in a less degree of *Esther*. To cite another French example, Corneille's *Cid* is almost romantic in its treatment of historical data.

An examination of Schiller's successful historical plays will reveal the same freedom of treatment. In *Wallenstein's Tod* he purposely violates historical truth, as far as he knew it, in making Wallenstein conscious of wrong purpose in his attitude toward the Emperor, and penitent in regard to it, because he felt this sense of guilt necessary to the play. In this play, Schiller shows that he has digested his authorities, for scarcely a reference is patent. His art is that of Milton, wherein learning and investigation tincture the whole, but seldom obtrude on the surface. The one part of *Wallenstein* in which Schiller painstakingly strives for local color is the *Lager*, which is scarcely a vital part of the

drama at all. And it is significant that the *Lager* is the least successful on the stage of the three parts of the tragedy. In *Maria Stuart*, Schiller is even freer in his use of materials, and in the *Jungfrau von Orleans* he boldly alters history by inventing a new *dénouement*. At his strictest, Schiller is not a realist, but idealizes his central characters, after the example set by Goethe in *Goetz von Berlichingen*, without the *Sturm und Drang* of the latter. It is noteworthy, in this connection, that Hauptmann's recent attempt, in *Florian Geyer*, to treat with realistic exactness a historical period, has been a failure on the stage.

We may infer, then, that Jonson's method of painstaking accuracy is in the main wrong, as tending to place emphasis on the non-essential. However, this is not the only fundamental fault in Jonson's work. There would appear to be inherent in *Catiline* a certain misconception of classicism, a certain tendency to construe the classical restraint as calm. Indeed, we still hear rather too much of the 'classical calm.' Now, of restraint there is plenty in the Greek drama: but one would have to search far to find calm in such plays as the *Medea*, the *Antigone*, the *Prometheus Unbound*, or the terrific *Electra*. Although the restrained treatment in these dramas is impossible for us, because foreign to the Anglo-Saxon genius, they yet have a terrible intensity. But Jonson followed Seneca rather than the Greeks, and Seneca is merely rhetorical. In the last analysis, *Catiline* is also largely rhetorical,[1] with too little action.

Further than this, it may be doubted whether any attempt to reproduce a bygone age in its own literary forms can succeed. The times change. What so stirred men once, no longer moves. As I said in discussing Mac-

[1] See Castelain's criticism in *Ben Jonson, l'Homme et l'Œuvre*, pp. 594 ff.

Dowell, to interpret properly, the artist must speak in our terms. Our dramatic terms are vastly different from those of Sophocles and Seneca, and an interpretation even of their times, or of their themes, must not follow their methods too closely. Even *Athalie* is a little too close to the Latin method to be successful on our stage. Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, which comes about as near as may be to catching the classical atmosphere (although the subjective treatment of the Furies is modern), is a failure on the stage. The past *may* be interpreted to us with a vast wealth of detail, but the proper interpreter in this fashion is rather the novelist than the dramatist. Thackeray in *Henry Esmond*, and Sienkiewicz in *Quo Vadis*, for instance, have caught the true atmosphere of the times they portray, but the form they utilize is one quite distinct from the drama, and free from its restrictions.

The remarkable thing about *Catiline*, then, is not that Jonson failed, but that he did so well under the circumstances.

A final word ought, perhaps, to be said about the historical significance of *Catiline* and its companion-piece, *Sejanus*. Such a word must of necessity be both brief and guarded, for the evidences here are intangible and elusive. Nettleton,[1] although possibly a little over-zealous in his efforts to establish the autonomy of the English drama in the Restoration and the immediately succeeding period, has yet shown conclusively the influence of Jonson on later comedy. Briggs,[2] in his article, *Influence of Jonson on Seventeenth Century Tragedy*, has collected a number of interesting parallels which indicate that Jonson's contemporaries utilized

[1] In *English Drama of the Restoration*, etc.

[2] In *Anglia* 35. 277 ff.

freely either his works or his sources, to which he had probably directed their notice. Briggs also calls attention to the increasing Senecan elements in English tragedy after the appearance of Jonson's tragedies, and to the accumulation of plays on Roman themes. These conclusions support forcibly the *a priori* notion that all students of Jonson must have, as to his influence on later drama. When we come to the 'classical' period, this *a priori* notion is further strengthened by the patent evidence that Jonson's works were being read and discussed. Dryden cited, in his *Essay of Dramatick Poesy*, the rimes in *Catiline* and *Sejanus* as a justification of his heroic couplets. Shadwell, in the preface to his *Sullen Lovers*, defended Jonsonian comedy against the animadversions of Dryden and others, who had cried it down as lacking in wit; and again took up the cudgels in the preface to his *Humourists*, and elsewhere. Voltaire, who in his day was practically literary dictator for both England and France, read and criticized *Catiline*, and in his *Catilina* endeavored to 'improve' upon Jonson's handling of the theme. Then, too, *Catiline* was acted at least up to 1691.

On the other hand, to offset these considerations, is the stubborn fact that neither the manner nor the matter of the 'classical' tragedy is Jonsonian. *Cato* and *Irene*, to select examples of this tragedy at its height, are at a far remove from the manner of *Catiline* or *Sejanus*. But then, too, they are at a remove not much less from the manner of Racine and Corneille. Indeed, in intrinsic dramatic worth and force, *Catiline* is nearer *Athalie* than is *Cato*. All of these plays are rhetorical, but in Jonson and the French dramatist there is fire blazing beneath, and through, the ice of the rhetoric, whereas the English 'classical' tragedy is almost totally frigid. The tone of the 'classical' tragedy is, it would seem to me,

due rather to the temper of the times than to French influences. When we examine the matter of the Queen Anne and Restoration tragedy, we find no Jonsonian borrowings unmistakable enough to warrant definite assertions.

In view of Jonson's undoubted weight of authority and the fact that he endeavored, long before the 'classical' school arose, to write tragedy on a strictly classical theory; and in view of the fact that the 'classical' tragedies themselves resemble the French tragedies more in accidentals than in essentials, I should hazard it as my opinion that a 'classical' tragedy of some sort was, in the course of a natural evolution, bound to appear in England, and that, even without French models, it would not have differed greatly in its methods and tone from the tragedy that did appear. The French impetus probably hastened its actual appearance, and gave it a certain bias, but was hardly responsible for its coming into being.

## E. Editor's Note

The following list of abbreviations obtains in the footnotes to the text:

F1 = Yale Library copy of the 1616 Folio.
F2 = Yale Elizabethan Club copy of the 1616 Folio.
Q1 = First Quarto.
Q2 = Second Quarto.
Q3 = Third Quarto.
1640 = 1640 Folio.
1692 = 1692 Folio.
1716 = Booksellers' edition of 1716.
W = Peter Whalley's edition.
G = Gifford's edition.
C—G = Cunningham-Gifford edition.
S. D. = Stage-direction; S. N. = Side-note.

In the collations I have endeavored throughout to avoid the irrelevant. Mere changes of spelling I have omitted, and changes of punctuation I have only admitted when they entail a real change in meaning. A few obvious misprints in the Folio text have been corrected.

# CATILINE
# HIS
# CONSPIRACY.

*A Tragœdie.*

Acted in the yeere 1611. By the
Kings MAIESTIES
Seruants.

The Author B. I.

HORAT.

*——His non plebecula gaudet:*
*Verum equitis quoq́, iam migrauit ab aure voluptas*
*Omnis, ad incertos oculos, & gaudia vana.*

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LONDON,
Printed by WILLIAM STANSBY.

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M. DC. XVI.

[681] TO THE GREAT EXAMPLE OF HONOR, AND VERTVE, THE MOST NOBLE

VVILLIAM,

EARLE OF PEMBROKE, LORD CHAMBERLAINE,

&c.

MY LORD,

In so thick, and darke an ignorance, as now almost couers the age, I craue leaue to stand neare your light: and, by that, to bee read. Posteritie may pay your benefit the honor, & thanks: when it shall know, that you dare, in these Iig-giuen times, to countenance a legitimate Poeme. I must call it so, against all noise of opinion: from whose crude, and ayrie reports, I appeale, to that great and singular faculty of iudgement in your Lordship, able to vindicate truth from error. It is the first (of this race) that euer I dedicated to any person, and had I not thought it the best, it should haue beene taught a lesse ambition. Now, it approcheth your censure cheerefully, and with the same assurance, that innocency would appeare before a magistrate.

Your Lo. most faithfull

honorer,

BEN. IONSON.

Dedication om. Q2.
7 that] the G.

# The Persons of the Play.

SYLLA'S GHOST.

| | |
|---|---|
| CATILINE. | CICERO. |
| LENTVLVS. | ANTONIVS. |
| CETHEGVS. | CATO. |
| CVRIVS. | CATVLVS. |
| AVTRONIVS. | CRASSVS. |
| VARGVNTEIVS. | CAESAR. |
| LONGINVS. | Qv. CICERO. |
| LECCA. | SYLLANVS. |
| FVLVIVS. | FLACCVS. |
| BESTIA. | POMTINIVS. |
| GABINIVS. | SANGA. |
| STATILIVS. | SENATORS. |
| CEPARIVS. | ALLOBROGES. |
| CORNELIVS. | PETREIVS. |
| VOLTVRTIVS. | SOVLDIERS. |
| AVRELIA. | PORTER. |
| FVLVIA. | LICTORS. |
| SEMPRONIA. | SERVANTS. |
| GALLA. | PAGES. |

CHORVS.

---

THE SCENE

ROME.

The Persons of the Play] The Names of the Actors Q1, Q2.

## Act. I.

### SYLLA'S *Ghost.*

DOst thou not feele me, *Rome*? not yet? Is night
So heauy on thee, and my weight so light?
Can SYLLA'S Ghost arise within thy walls,
Lesse threatning, then an earth-quake, the quick falls
Of thee, and thine? shake not the frighted heads
Of thy steepe towers? or shrinke to their first beds?
Or, as their ruine the large *Tyber* fills,
Make that swell vp, and drowne thy seuen proud hills?
What sleepe is this doth seize thee, so like death,
And is not it? Wake, feele her, in my breath:
Behold, I come, sent from the *Stygian* sound,
As a dire vapor, that had cleft the ground,
T'ingender with the night and blast the day;
Or like a pestilence, that should display
Infection through the world: which, thus, I doe.
PLVTO be at thy councells; and into
Thy darker bosome enter SYLLA'S spirit:
All, that was mine, and bad, thy brest inherit.
Alas, how weake is that, for CATILINE!
Did I but say (vaine voice!) all that was mine?
All, that the GRACCHI, CINNA, MARIVS would;
What now, had I a body againe, I could,

*Discoue*
*Catiline*
*his stud*

ACT I. SCENE I. *A Room in* Catiline's *House.*
*The Ghost of* Sylla *rises.* S. D.—G.

16 [The curtain draws, and Catiline is discovered in his study.] S. N.—G.

[684] Comming from hell; what Fiends would wish should be;
And HANNIBAL could not haue wish'd to see:
Thinke thou, and practice. Let the long-hid seeds
Of treason, in thee, now shoot forth in deeds,
Ranker then horror; and thy former facts
Not fall in mention, but to vrge new acts:
Conscience of them prouoke thee on to more.
Be still thy incests, murders, rapes before
Thy sense; thy forcing first a *Vestall* nunne;
Thy parricide, late, on thine owne onely sonne,
After his mother; to make emptie way
For thy last wicked nuptialls; worse, then they,
That blaze that act of thy incestuous life,
Which got thee, at once, a daughter, and a wife.
I leaue the slaughters that thou didst for me,
Of *Senators*; for which, I hid for thee
Thy murder of thy brother, (being so brib'd)
And writ him in the list of my proscrib'd
After thy fact, to saue thy little shame:
Thy incest, with thy sister, I not name.
These are too light. *Fate* will haue thee pursue
Deedes, after which, no mischiefe can be new;
The ruine of thy countrey: thou wert built
For such a worke, and borne for no lesse guilt.
What though defeated once th'hast beene, and knowne,
Tempt it againe: That is thy act, or none.
What all the seuerall ills, that visite earth,
(Brought forth by night, with a sinister birth)
Plagues, famine, fire could not reach vnto,
The sword, nor surfets; let thy furie doe:
Make all past, present, future ill thine owne;

32 thine owne onely sonne] thy own only son 1640, 1692, 1716. W; thine owne naturall son Q1, Q2. 35 blaze] fame Q2. 47 though] thou Q2.

And conquer all example, in thy one.
Nor let thy thought find any vacant time
To hate an old, but still a fresher crime
Drowne the remembrance: let not mischiefe cease,
But, while it is in punishing, encrease.
Conscience, and care die in thee; and be free
Not heau'n it selfe from thy impietie:
Let night grow blacker with thy plots; and day,
At shewing but thy head forth, start away
From this halfe-spheare: and leaue *Romes* blinded walls
T'embrace lusts, hatreds, slaughters, funeralls,
And not recouer sight, till their owne flames
Doe light them to their ruines. All the names
Of thy confederates, too, be no lesse great [685]
In hell, then here: that, when we would repeat
Our strengths in muster, we may name you all,
And *Furies*, vpon you, for *Furies* call.
Whilst, what you doe, may strike them into feares,
Or make them grieue, and wish your mischiefe theirs.

CATILINE.

IT is decree'd. Nor shall thy Fate, Ô *Rome*,
Resist my vow. Though hills were set on hills,
And seas met seas, to guard thee; I would through:
I, plough vp rocks, steepe as the *Alpes*, in dust;
And laue the *Tyrrhene* waters, into clouds;
But I would reach thy head, thy head, proud citie.
The ills, that I haue done, cannot be safe
But by attempting greater; and I feele
A spirit, within me, chides my sluggish hands,
And sayes, they haue beene innocent too long.

71 may] doth Q1, Q2. 72 [Sinks. S. N.—G. CATILINE *rises, and comes forward.* S. D.—G. 76 I,] I 1692; I'd 1716, W.

Was I a man, bred great, as *Rome* her selfe?
One, form'd for all her honors, all her glories?
Equall to all her titles? that could stand
Close vp, with ATLAS; and sustaine her name
As strong, as he doth heau'n? And, was I
Of all her brood, mark'd out for the repulse
By her no voice, when I stood *Candidate*,
To be commander in the *Pontick* warre?
I will, hereafter, call her step-dame, euer.
If shee can loose her nature, I can loose
My pietie; and in her stony entrailes
Dig me a seate: where, I will liue, againe,
The labour of her wombe, and be a burden,
Weightier then all the prodigies, and monsters,
That shee hath teem'd with, since shee first knew MARS.

CATILINE, AVRELIA.

VVHo's there? AVR. 'Tis I. CAT. AVRELIA?
AVR. Yes. CAT. Appeare,
And breake, like day, my beautie, to this circle:
Vpbraid thy *Phoebus*, that he is so long
In mounting to that point, which should giue thee
Thy proper splendor. Wherefore frownes my sweet?
(*He kisseth them.*) Haue I too long beene absent from these lips,
This cheeke, these eyes? What is my trespasse? speake.
AVR. It seemes, you know, that can accuse your selfe.
[686] CAT. I will redeeme it. AVR. Still, you say so. When?
CAT. When ORESTILLA, by her bearing well
These my retirements, and stolne times for thought,
Shall giue their effects leaue to call her Queene

*Enter* AURELIA ORESTILLA. S. D.—G. 97 That] What Q2. 98 Appeare] Q1 wrongly assigns this speech to AVR. 104 [*Kisses them.*] inserted by G. after *eyes*?

Of all the world, in place of humbled *Rome.*
AVR. You court me, now. CAT. As I would alwayes, Loue,
By this *ambrosiack* kisse, and this of *nectar,*
Wouldst thou but heare as gladly, as I speake.
Could my AVRELIA thinke, I meant her lesse;
When, wooing her, I first remou'd a wife,
And then a sonne, to make my bed, and house
Spatious, and fit t'embrace her? These were deeds
Not t'haue begun with, but to end with more,
And greater: "He that, building, stayes at one
"Floore, or the second, hath erected none.
'Twas how to raise thee, I was meditating;
To make some act of mine answere thy loue:
That loue, that, when my state was now quite sunke,
Came with thy wealth, and weigh'd it vp againe,
And made my 'emergent-fortune once more looke
Aboue the maine; which, now, shall hit the starres,
And stick my ORESTILLA, there, amongst 'hem,
If any tempest can but make the billow,
And any billow can but lift her greatnesse.
But, I must pray my loue, shee will put on
Like habites with my selfe. I haue to doe
With many men, and many natures. Some,
That must be blowne, and sooth'd; as LENTVLVS,
Whom I haue heau'd, with magnifying his bloud,
And a vaine dreame, out of the SYBILL'S bookes,
That a third man, of that great family,
Whereof he is descended, the CORNELII,
Should be a king in *Rome*: which I haue hir'd
The flatt'ring AVGVRES to interpret him,
CINNA, and SYLLA dead. Then, bold CETHEGVS,
Whose valour I haue turn'd into his poyson,

126 maine] waine Q2.

And prais'd so into daring, as he would
Goe on vpon the gods, kisse lightning, wrest
The engine from the CYCLOP'S, and giue fire
At face of a full cloud, and stand his ire:
When I would bid him moue. Others there are,
Whom enuy to the state drawes, and puts on,
For contumelies receiu'd, (and such are sure ones)
As CVRIVS, and the fore-nam'd LENTVLVS,
Both which haue beene degraded, in the *Senate*,
[687] And must haue their disgraces, still, new rub'd,
To make 'hem smart, and labour of reuenge.
Others, whom meere ambition fires, and dole
Of *prouinces* abroad, which they haue fain'd
To their crude hopes, and I as amply promis'd:
These, LECCA, VARGVNTEIVS, BESTIA, AVTRONIVS.
Some, whom their wants oppresse, as th' idle Captaynes
Of SYLLA'S troops: and diuers *Roman* Knights
(The profuse wasters of their patrimonies)
So threatned with their debts as they will, now,
Runne any desperate fortune, for a change.
These, for a time, we must relieue, AVRELIA,
And make our house the safe-guard: like, for those,
That feare the law, or stand within her gripe,
For any act past, or to come. Such will
From their owne crimes, be factious, as from ours.
Some more there be, slight ayrelings, will be wonne,
With dogs, and horses; or, perhaps, a whore;
Which must be had: and, if they venter liues,
For vs, AVRELIA, we must hazard honors
A little. Get thee store, and change of women,
As I haue boyes; and giue 'hem time, and place,
And all conniuence: be thy selfe, too, courtly;

147 on] one Q2. 163 the] their Q1. safe-guard] saue-gard Q1.

And entertayne, and feast, sit vp, and reuell;
Call all the great, the faire, and spirited *Dames*
Of *Rome* about thee; and beginne a fashion
Of freedome, and community. Some will thanke thee,
Though the sowre *Senate* frowne, whose heads must ake
In feare, and feeling too. We must not spare
Or cost, or modestie. It can but shew
Like one of IVNO'S or of IOVE'S disguises,
In either thee, or mee: and will as soone,
When things succeed, be throwne by, or let fall,
As is a vaile put off, a visor chang'd,
Or the *scene* shifted, in our *theatres*———
*A noyse without.*
Who's that? It is the voyce of LENTVLVS.
AVR. Or of CETHEGVS. CAT. In, my faire AVRELIA,
And thinke vpon these arts. They must not see,
How farre you are trusted with these priuacies;
Though, on their shoulders, necks, and heads you rise.

LENTVLVS, CETHEGVS, CATILINE. [688]

IT is, me thinks, a morning, full of fate!
It riseth slowly, as her sollen carre
Had all the weights of sleepe, and death hung at it!
She is not rosy-finger'd, but swolne black!
Her face is like a water, turn'd to bloud,
And her sick head is bound about with clouds,
As if shee threatned night, ere noone of day!
It does not looke, as it would haue a haile,
Or health, wish'd in it, as on other mornes.
CET. Why, all the fitter, LENTVLVS: our comming

185 [*Noise within.* S. N.—G. Q1, Q2 om. direction. 189 you are] you're—G. 190 [*exit Aurelia.* S. N.—G.
*Enter* LENTULUS, *in discourse with* CETHEGUS. S. D.—G.

Is not for salutation, we haue business.
CAT. Said nobly, braue CETHEGVS. Where's AVTRONIVS?
CAT. Is he not come? CAT. Not here. CET. Nor VARGVNTEIVS?
CAT. Neither. CET. A fire in their beds, and bosomes,
That so will serue their sloth, rather then vertue.
They are no *Romanes*, and at such high need
As now. LEN. Both they, LONGINVS, LECCA, CVRIVS,
FVLVIVS, GABINIVS, gaue me word, last night,
By LVCIVS BESTIA, they would all be here,
And early. CET. Yes? As you, had I not call'd you.
Come, we all sleepe, and are meere dormice; flies,
A little lesse then dead: more dulnesse hangs
On vs, then on the morne. W'are spirit-bound,
In ribs of ice; our whole blouds are one stone;
And honor cannot thaw vs; nor our wants:
Though they burne, hot as feuers, to our states.
CAT. I muse they would be tardy, at an houre
Of so great purpose. CET. If the gods had call'd
Them, to a purpose, they would iust have come
With the same tortoyse speed! that are thus slow
To such an action, which the gods will enuy:
As asking no lesse meanes, then all their powers
Conioyn'd, t'effect. I would haue seene *Rome* burn't,
By this time; and her ashes in an vrne:
The kingdome of the *Senate*, rent a-sunder;
And the degenerate, talking gowne runne frighted,
Out of the aire of *Italie*. CAT. Spirit of men!
Thou, heart of our great enterprise! how much

201 salutation] salvation Q2. 202 nobly] noble Q2. 203 Not here] Nor here 1716. 210 early] yearly Q3.

I loue these voices in thee! CET. O, the dayes
Of SYLLA'S sway, when the free sword tooke leaue
To act all that it would! CAT. And was familiar
With entrailes, as our *Augures*! CET. Sonnes kild fathers,
Brothers their brothers. CAT. And had price, and praise. [689]
All hate had licence giuen it: all rage raines.
CET. Slaughter bestrid the streets, and stretch'd himselfe
To seeme more huge; whilst to his stayned thighes
The gore he drew flow'd vp: and carryed downe
Whole heaps of limmes, and bodies, through his arch.
No age was spar'd, no sexe. CAT. Nay, no degree.
CET. Not infants, in the porch of life were free.
The sick, the old, that could but hope a day
Longer, by natures bountie, not let stay.
Virgins, and widdowes, matrons, pregnant wiues,
All dyed. CAT. 'Twas crime inough, that they had liues.
To strike but onely those, that could doe hurt,
Was dull, and poore. Some fell to make the number,
As some the prey. CET. The rugged CHARON fainted,
And ask'd a nauy, rather then a boate,
To ferry ouer the sad world that came:
The mawes, and dens of beasts could not receiue
The bodies, that those soules were frighted from;
And e'en the graues were fild with men, yet liuing,
Whose flight, and feare had mix'd them, with the dead.
CAT. And this shall be againe, and more, and more,
Now LENTVLVS, the third CORNELIVS,
Is to stand vp in *Rome*. LEN. Nay, vrge not that

232 Augures!] Augures? Q3. 234 raines] reign'd 1692, 1716.

Is so vncertaine. CAT. How! LEN. I meane, not clear'd.
And, therefore, not to be reflected on.
CAT. The SYBILL'S leaues vncertayne? or the comments
Of our graue, deepe, diuining men not cleare?
LEN. All prophecies, you know, suffer the torture.
CAT. But this, already, hath confess'd, without.
And so beene weigh'd, examin'd, and compar'd,
As 'twere malicious ignorance in him,
Would faint in the beliefe. LEN. Doe you beleeue it?
CAT. Doe I loue LENTVLVS? or pray to see it?
LEN. The *Augures* all are constant, I am meant.
CAT. They had lost their science else. LEN. They count from CINNA.
CAT. And SYLLA next, and so make you the third;
All that can say the sunne is ris'n, must thinke it.
LEN. Men marke me more, of late, as I come forth!
CAT. Why, what can they doe lesse? CINNA, and SYLLA
Are set, and gone: and we must turn our eyes
On him that is, and shines. Noble CETHEGVS,
But view him with me, here! He lookes, already,
As if he shooke a scepter, o're the *Senate*,
And the aw'd purple dropt their rods, and axes!
[690] The statues melt againe; and houshold gods
In grones confesse the trauaile of the citie;
The very walls sweat bloud before the change;
And stones start out to ruine, ere it comes.
CET. But he, and we, and all are idle still.
LEN. I am your creature, SERGIVS: And what ere
The great CORNELIAN name shall winne to be,
It is not *Augury*, nor the SYBILS bookes,

271 Men] om. Q2.

But CATILINE that makes it. CAT. I am shaddow
To honor'd LENTVLVS, and CETHEGVS here.
Who are the heires of MARS. CET. By MARS himselfe,
CATILINE is more my parent: for whose vertue
Earth cannot make a shaddow great inough,
Though enuy should come too. O, there they'are. [690]
Now we shall talke more, though we yet doe nothing.

AVTRONIVS, VARGVNTEIVS, LONGINVS, CVRIVS, LECCA, BESTIA, FVLVIVS, GABINIVS, &c. *To them.*

HAile LVCIVS CATILINE. VAR. Haile noble SERGIVS.
LON. Haile PVB: LENTVL'. CVR. Haile the third CORNELI'.
LEC. CAIVS CETHEGVS haile. CET. Haile sloth, and words,
In steed of men and spirits. CAT. Nay, deare CAIVS———
CET. Are your eyes yet vnseel'd? Dare they looke day
In the dull face? CAT. Hee's zealous, for the 'affaire,
And blames your tardy comming, gentlemen.
CET. Vnlesse, we had sold our selues to sleepe, and ease,
And would be our slaues slaues———CAT. Pray you forbeare.
CET. The north is not so starke, and cold. CAT. CETHEGVS—

291 [*Noise within.*] S. N.—G. *Enter* AUTRONIUS, VARGUNTEIUS, LONGINUS, CURIUS, LECCA, BESTIA, FULVIUS, GABINIUS, &c. *and Servants.* S. D.—G. 297 CET.] GET. F1. F2. 298 dull] full 1716, W.

BES. We shall redeeme all, if your fire will let vs.
CAT. You are too full of lightning, noble CATVS.
Boy, see all doores be shut, that none approch vs,
On this part of the house. Goe you, and bid
The Priest, he kill the slaue I mark'd last night;
And bring me of his bloud, when I shall call him:
Till then, wait all without. VAR. How is't, AVTRONIVS!
AVT. LONGINVS? LON. CVRIVS? CVR. LECCA? VAR. Feele you nothing?
LON. A strange, vn-wonted horror doth inuade me,
*A darknesse comes ouer the place.* I know not what it is! LEC. The day goes back,
Or else my senses! CVR. As at ATREVS feast!
FVL. Darkenesse growes more, and more! LEN. The *vestall* flame,
*A grone of many people is heard vnder ground.* I thinke, be out. GAB. What grone was that? CET. Our phant'sies
Strike fire, out of our selues, and force a day.
*Another.* AVR. Againe it sounds! BES. As all the citie gaue it!
[691] CET. We feare what our selues faine. VAR. What
*A fiery light appeares.* light is this?
CVR. Looke forth. LEN. It still growes greater!
LEC. From whence comes it?
LON. A bloudy arme it is, that holds a pine
Lighted, aboue the *Capitoll*! and, now,
It waues vnto vs! CAT. Braue, and omenous!
Our enterprise is seal'd. CET. In spight of darkeness,
That would discountenance it. Looke no more;
We loose time, and our selues. To what we came for,

303 we shall] shall we Q2. 306 [*Exit Servant.*] S. N.—G. 309 [*Exeunt Servants.*] S. N.—G. The marginal notes of F1 and F2, Q1 and Q2 om. G. prints all marginal notes as side-notes.

Speake LVCIVS, we attend you. CAT. Noblest *Romanes*,
If you were lesse, or that your faith, and vertue
Did not hold good that title, with your bloud,
I should not, now, vnprofitably spend
My selfe in words, or catch at empty hopes,
By ayrie wayes, for solide certainties.
But since in many, and the greatest dangers,
I still haue known you no lesse true, then valiant,
And that I tast, in you, the same affections,
To will, or will, to thinke things good, or bad,
Alike with me: (which argues your firme friendship)
I dare the boldlier with you, set on foot,
Or leade, vnto this great, and goodliest action.
What I haue thought of it afore, you all
Haue heard apart. I then express'd my zeale
Vnto the glorie; now, the neede enflames me:
When I fore-thinke the hard conditions,
Our states must vnder-goe, except, in time,
We doe redeeme our selues to libertie,
And break the yron yoke, forg'd for our necks.
For, what lesse can we call it? When we see
The common-wealth engross'd so by a few,
The giants of the state, that doe, by turnes,
Enioy her, and defile her! All the earth,
Her Kings, and *Tetrarchs*, are their tributaries;
People, and nations, pay them hourely stipends:
The riches of the world flowes to their coffers,
And not, to *Romes*. While (but those few) the rest,
How euer great we are, honest, and valiant,
Are hearded with the vulgar; and so kept,
As we were onely bred, to consume corne;
Or weare out wooll; to drinke the cities water;

340 apart] a part 1640, 1692. 353 the rest] om. Q3.
357 out] our 1640, 1692, Q3, 1716.

Vngrac'd, without authoritie, or marke;
Trembling beneath their rods: to whom, (if all
Were well in *Rome*) we should come forth bright axes.
All places, honors, offices are theirs!
Or where they will conferre 'hem! They leaue vs
[692] The dangers, the repulses, iudgements, wants:
Which how long will you beare, most valiant spirits?
Were we not better to fall, once, with vertue,
Then draw a wretched, and dishonor'd breath,
To loose with shame, when these mens pride will laugh?
I call the faith of gods, and men to question,
The power is in our hands; our bodies able;
Our mindes as strong; o' th' contrary, in them,
All things growne aged, with their wealth, and yeeres:
There wants, but onely to beginne the businesse,
The issue is certaine. CET. LON. On, let vs goe on.
CVR. BES. Goe on, braue SERGIVS. CAT. It doth strike my soule,
(And, who can scape the stroke, that hath a soule,
Or, but the smallest aire of man within him?)
To see them swell with treasure; which they powre
Out i' their riots, eating, drinking, building,
I, i' the sea! planing of hills with valleyes;
And raysing vallies aboue hills! whilst we
Haue not, to giue our bodies necessaries.
They ha' their change of houses, mannors, lordships:
We scarce a fire, or poore houshold *Lar*!
They buy rare *Atticke* statues, *Tyrian* hangings,
*Ephesian* pictures, and *Corinthian* plate,
*Attalicke* garments, and now, new-found gemmes,
Since POMPEY went for *Asia*, which they purchase
At price of *prouinces*! The riuer *Phasis*

373 CET. LON. On, let vs goe on] LON. On. CET. Let us go on. W. 383 or poore] or a poor 1692, 1716, W, G.

Cannot affoord 'hem fowle; nor *Lucrine* lake
Oysters enow: *Circei*, too, is search'd
To please the witty gluttony of a meale!
Their ancient habitations they neglect,
And set vp new; then, if the eccho like not
In such a roome, they pluck downe those, build newer,
Alter them too: and, by all frantick wayes,
Vexe their wild wealth, as they molest the people,
From whom they force it! yet, they cannot tame,
Or ouer-come their riches! Not, by making
Bathes, orchards, fish-pooles! letting in of seas
Here! and, then there, forcing 'hem out againe,
With mountaynous heaps, for which the earth hath lost
Most of her ribs, as entrailes! being now
Wounded no lesse for marble, then for gold.
We, all this while, like calme, benum'd Spectators,
Sit, till our seates doe cracke; and doe not heare
The thundring ruines: whilst, at home, our wants,
Abroad, our debts doe vrge vs; our states daily
Bending to bad, our hopes to worse: and, what [693]
Is left, but to be crush'd? Wake, wake braue friends,
And meet the libertie you oft haue wish'd for.
Behold, renowne, riches, and glory court you.
Fortune holds out these to you, as rewards.
Me thinkes (though I were dumbe) th' affaire it selfe
The opportunity, your needs, and dangers,
With the braue spoile the warre brings, should inuite you.
Vse me your generall, or souldier: neither,
My minde, nor body shall be wanting to you.
And, being *Consul*, I not doubt t' effect,
All that you wish, if trust not flatter me,
And you'd not rather still be slaues, then free.

390 Circei] Circes 1640, 1692; Circe's 1716. 420 you'd not] you had Q1, Q2.

CET. Free, free. LON. 'Tis freedom. CVR.
Freedom we all stand for.
CAT. Why, these are noble voyces! Nothing wants then,
But that we take a solemne sacrament,
To strengthen our designe. CET. And so to act it.
Differring hurts, where powers are so prepar'd.
AVT. Yet, ere we enter into open act,
(With favour) 'twere no losse, if 't might be enquir'd,
What the condition of these armes would be?
VAR. I, and the meanes, to carry vs through?
CAT. How, friends!
Thinke you, that I would bid you, graspe the winde?
Or call you to th' embracing of a cloud?
Put your knowne values on so deare a businesse,
And haue no other second then the danger,
Nor other gyrlond then the losse? Become
Your owne assurances. And, for the meanes,
Consider, first, the starke securitie
The common wealth is in now; the whole *Senate*
Sleepy, and dreaming no such violent blow;
Their forces all abroad; of which the greatest,
That might annoy vs most, is fardest off,
In Asia, vnder POMPEY: those, neare hand,
Commanded, by our friends; one army' in *Spaine*,
By CNEVS PISO; th' other in *Mauritania*,
By NVCERINVS; both which I haue firme,
And fast vnto our plot. My selfe, then, standing
Now to be *Consul*; with my hop'd Colleague
CAIVS ANTONIVS; one, no lesse engag'd
By'his wants then we: and, whom I'haue power to melt,
And cast in any mould. Beside, some others
That will not yet be nam'd, (both sure, and great ones)

425 so] most, Q1, Q2, G. 432 values] valours Q2, 1716, W, G.

Who, when the time comes, shall declare themselves,
Strong, for our party: so, that no resistance
In nature can be thought. For our reward, then, [694]
First, all our debts are paid; dangers of law,
Actions, decrees, iudgments against vs quitted;
The rich men, as in SYLLA'S times, proscrib'd,
And publication made of all their goods;
That house is yours; that land is his; those waters,
Orchards, and walkes a third's; he' has that honor,
And he that office: Such a *prouince* falls
To VARGVNTEIVS: this to AVTRONIVS: that
To bold CETHEGVS: *Rome* to LENTVLVS.
You share the world, her magistracies, priest-hoods,
Wealth, and felicitie amongst you, friends;
And CATILINE your seruant. Would you, CVRIVS,
Reuenge the contumely stuck vpon you,
In being remoued from the *Senate*? Now,
Now, is your time. Would PVBLIVS LENTVLVS
Strike, for the like disgrace? Now, is his time.
Would stout LONGINVS walke the streets of *Rome*,
Facing the *Praetor*? Now, has he a time
To spurne, and tread the *fasces*, into dirt,
Made of the vsurers, and the *Lictors* braines.
Is there a beautie, here in *Rome*, you loue?
An enemie you would kill? What head's not yours?
Whose wife, which boy, whose daughter, of what race,
That th'husband, or glad parents shall not bring you,
And boasting of the office? only, spare
Your selues, and you haue all the earth beside,
A field, to exercise your longings in.
I see you rais'd, and reade your forward mindes
High, in your faces. Bring the wine, and bloud

456 proscrib'd] prescrib'd Q2. 482 in] i' Q1, Q2.

You haue prepar'd there. LON. How! CAT. I'haue kill'd a slaue,
And of his bloud caus'd to be mixd with wine.
Fill euery man his bowle. There cannot be
A fitter drinke, to make this *sanction* in.
Here, I beginne the sacrament to all.
O, for a clap of thunder, now, as loud,
As to be heard through-out the vniuerse,
To tell the world the fact, and to applaud it.
Be firme, my hand; not shed a drop: but powre
Fiercenesse into me, with it, and fell thirst
Of more, and more, till *Rome* be left as bloud-lesse,
As euer her feares made her, or the sword.
And, when I leaue to wish this to thee, step-dame,
Or stop, to effect it, with my powers fainting;
[695] So may my bloud be drawne, and so drunke vp
(*They drinke.*) As is this slaues. LON. And so be mine. LEN. And mine.
AVT. And mine. VAR. And mine. CET. Swell mee my bowle yet fuller.
Here, I doe drinke this, as I would doe CATO'S,
Or the new fellow CICERO'S: with that vow
Which CATILINE hath giuen. CVR. So doe I.
LEC. And I. BES. And I. FVL. And I. GAB. And all of vs.
CAT. Why, now's the business safe, and each man strengthned.
Sirrah, what aile you? PAG. Nothing. BES. Somewhat modest.
*He spies one of his boyes not answere—*
CAT. Slaue, I will strike your soule out, with my foot,
Let me but find you againe with such a face:

483 *Enter Servants with a bowl.* S. D.—G. 498 [*Drinks.* S. N.—G. 499 Swell] Crowne Q1, Q2. [*They drink.* S. N.—G. 502 [*Drinks.* S. N.—G. 503 [*They drink.* S. N.—G. Marginal note om. G.

You whelp——BES. Nay, LVCIVS. CAT. Are you coying it,
When I command you to be free, and generall
To all? BES. You'll be obseru'd. CAT. Arise, and shew
But any least auersion i' your looke
To him that bourds you next, and your throat opens.
Noble confederates, thus farre is perfect.
Only your suffrages I will expect,
At the assembly for the choosing *Consuls*,
And all the voyces you can make by friends
To my election. Then, let me worke out
Your fortunes, and mine owne. Meane while, all rest
Seal'd vp, and silent, as when rigid frosts
Haue bound vp brookes, and riuers, forc'd wild beasts
Vnto their caues, and birds into the woods,
Clownes to their houses, and the countrey sleeps:
That, when the sodaine thaw comes, we may breake
Vpon 'hem like a deluge, bearing downe
Halfe *Rome* before vs, and inuade the rest
With cryes, and noise able to wake the vrnes
Of those are dead, and make their ashes feare.
The horrors, that doe strike the world, should come
Loud, and vnlook'd for: till they strike, be dumbe.
CET. Oraculous SERGIVS! LEN. God-like CATILINE!

CHORVS.

CAn nothing great, and at the height
Remaine so long? but it's owne weight
Will ruine it? Or, is't blinde chance,
That still desires new states t'aduance,
And quit the old? Else, why must *Rome*,

527 feare.] feare, F1, F2. 530 [*Exeunt.* S. N.—G.

Be by it selfe; now, ouer-come?
Hath shee not foes inow of those,
Whom shee hath made such, and enclose
Her round about? Or, are they none,
Except shee first become her owne?
[696] O wretchednesse of greatest states,
To be obnoxious to these fates:
That cannot keepe, what they doe gaine;
And what they raise so ill sustaine!
*Rome*, now, is Mistris of the whole
World, sea, and land, to either pole;
And euen that fortune will destroy
The power that made it: shee doth ioy
So much in plentie, wealth, and ease,
As, now, th' excesse is her disease.
Shee builds in gold; and, to the starres;
As, if shee threatned heau'n with warres:
And seekes for hell, in quaries deepe,
Giuing the fiends, that there doe keepe,
A hope of day. Her women weare
The spoiles of nations, in an eare,
Chang'd for the treasure of a shell;
And, in their loose attires, doe swell
More light then sailes, when all windes play.
Yet, are the men more loose then they!
More kemb'd, and bath'd, and rub'd, and trim'd,
More sleek'd, more soft, and slacker limm'd;
As prostitute: so much, that kinde
May seeke it selfe there, and not finde.
They eate on beds of silke, and gold;
At yuorie tables; or, wood sold
Dearer then it: and, leauing plate,
Doe drinke in stone of higher rate.

539 they] thy Q3. 568 Doe] To Q3.

They hunt all grounds; and draw all seas;
Foule euery brooke, and bush; to please
Their wanton tasts: and, in request
Haue new, and rare things; not the best!
  Hence comes that wild, and vast expence,
That hath enforc'd *Romes* vertue, thence,
Which simple pouerty first made:
And, now, ambition doth inuade
Her state, with eating auarice,
Riot, and euery other vice.
Decrees are bought, and lawes are sold,
Honors, and offices for gold;
The peoples voyces: and the free
Tongues, in the *Senate*, bribed bee.
Such ruine of her manners *Rome* [697]
Doth suffer now, as shee's become
(Without the gods it soone gaine-say)
Both her owne spoiler, and owne prey.
  So, *Asia*, 'art thou cru'lly euen
With vs, for all the blowes thee giuen;
When we, whose vertue conquer'd thee,
Thus, by thy vices, ruin'd bee.

## ACT II.

### FVLVIA, GALLA, SERVANT.

THose roomes doe smell extremely. Bring my glasse,
And table hither, GALLA. GAL. Madame. FVL. Looke
Within, 'i my blew cabinet, for the pearle

582 bee.] be? G. ACT II. SCENE I. *A Room in* Fulvia's *House.* *Enter* FULVIA, GALLA, *and Servant.* S. D.—G.
2 hither, GALLA] hither.—Galla! G.

I'had sent me last, and bring it. GAL. That from CLODIVS?
FVL. From CAIVS CAESAR. You' are for CLODIVS, still.
Or CVRIVS. Sirrha, if QVINTVS CVRIVS come,
I am not in fit moode; I keepe my chamber:
Giue warning so, without. GAL. Is this it? madame.
FVL. Yes, helpe to hang it in mine eare. GAL. Beleeue me,
It is a rich one, madame. FVL. I hope so:
It should not be worne there else. Make an end,
And binde my haire vp. GAL. As 'twas yesterday?
FVL. No, nor the t'other day. When knew you me
Appeare, two dayes together, in one dressing?
GAL. Will you ha't i' the globe, or spire? FVL. How thou wilt;
Any way, so thou wilt doe it, good impertinence.
Thy company, if I slept not very well
A nights, would make me, an errant foole, with questions.
CAL. Alas, madame——FVL. Nay, gentle halfe o'the dialogue, cease.
GAL. I doe it, indeed, but for your exercise,
As your physitian bids me. FVL. How! Do's he bid you
To anger me for exercise? GAL. Not to anger you,
But stirre your bloud a little: There's difference
Between luke-warme, and boyling, madame. FVL. IOVE!
Shee meanes to cooke me, I thinke? Pray you, ha' done.
GAL. I meane to dresse you, madame. FVL. O, my IVNO,

6 [*Exit Galla*] S. N.—G. 8 [*Exit Serv.* S. N.—G. *Re-enter* GALLA. S. D.—G. 13 the] om. 1716, W. 18 errant] arrant G. 23 there's] there is G.

Be friend to me! Offring at wit, too? Why, GALLA!
Where hast thou been? GAL. Why? madam! FVL. What hast thou done
With thy poore innocent selfe? GAL. Wherefore? sweet madame!
FVL. Thus to come forth, so sodainely, a wit-worme?
GAL. It pleases you to flout one. I did dreame
Of lady SEMPRONIA——FVL. O, the wonder is out. [698]
That did infect thee? Well, and how? GAL. Me thought
She did discourse the best——FVL. That euer thou heard'st?
GAL. Yes. FVL. I' thy sleepe? Of what was her discourse?
GAL. O' the *republike*, madame, and the state,
And how shee was in debt, and where shee meant
To raise fresh summes: Shee's a great states-woman!
FVL. Thou dream'st all this? GAL. No, but you know she is, madam,
And both a mistris of the *latine* tongue,
And of the *greeke*. FVL. I, but I neuer dreamt it, GALLA,
As thou hast done, and therefore you must pardon me.
GAL. Indeed, you mock me, madame. FVL. Indeed, no.
Forth, with your learned lady. Shee has a wit, too?
GAL. A very masculine one. FVL. A shee-*Critick*, GALLA?
And can compose, in verse, and make quick iests,

32 wonder is] wonder's G. (To print a full list of G.'s changes in the meter of the text would be utterly useless, especially as G. is entirely inconsistent. The two examples just cited show his apparent stupidity; in the first he omits a necessary elision, in the second he inserts a needless one.)

Modest, or otherwise? GAL. Yes, madame. FVL. Shee can sing, too?
And play on instruments? GAL. Of all kindes, they say.
FVL. And doth dance rarely? GAL. Excellent! So, well,
As a bald *Senator* made a iest, and said,
'Twas better, then an honest woman need.
FVL. Tut, shee may beare that. Few wise womens honesties
Will doe their courtship hurt. GAL. Shee's liberall too, madame.
FVL. What! of her money, or her honor, pray thee?
GAL. Of both, you know not which shee doth spare least.
FVL. A comely commendation. GAL. Troth, 'tis pitty,
Shee is in yeeres. FVL. Why, GALLA? (GAL.) For it is.
FVL. O, is that all? I thought thou'hadst had a reason.
GAL. Why, so I haue. Shee has beene a fine lady.
And, yet, she dresses her selfe (except you, madame)
One o' the best on *Rome*: and paints, and hides
Her decayes very well. FVL. They say, it is
Rather a visor, then a face shee weares.
GAL. They wrong her verily, madame, shee do's sleeke
With crums of bread, and milke, and lies a nights
In as neat gloues——But shee is faine of late
To seeke, more then shee's sought to (the fame is)

54 pray] pr'y 1640, 1716, W; prithee G. 57 (GAL.) This speech wrongly assigned to FVL., F1, F2, and 1640. GALLA] om. Q3. 58 thou' hadst had] thou'dst had 1716, W, G. 64 do's] doth 1716, W, G.

And so spends that way. FVL. Thou know'st all!
But, GALLA,
What say you to CATILINES lady, ORESTILLA?
There is the gallant! GAL. Shee do's well. Shee has
Very good sutes, and very rich: but, then,
Shee cannot put 'hem on. Shee knowes not how
To weare a garment. You shall haue her all
Iewels, and gold sometimes, so that her selfe
Appeares the least part of her selfe. No' in troth,
As I liue, madame, you put 'hem all downe
With your meere strength of iudgement! and doe draw,
too,
The world of *Rome* to follow you! you attire [699]
Your selfe so diuersly! and with that spirit!
Still to the noblest humors! They could make
Loue to your dresse, although your face were away, they
say.
FVL. And body too, and ha' the better match on't?
Say they not so too, GALLA? Now! What newes
Trauailes your count'nance with? SER. If 't please
you, madame,
The lady SEMPRONIA is lighted at the gate.
GAL. CASTOR, my dreame, my dreame. SER.
And comes to see you.
GAL. For VENVS sake, good madame see her.
FVL. Peace,
The foole is wild, I thinke. GAL. And heare her talke,
Sweet madame, of state-matters, and the *Senate*.

78 you!] om. 1640, 1692, 1716. 83 *Re-enter* Servant. 87 [*Exit Serv.*
S. D.—G. 85 gate.] gate; F1, F2.
S. N.—G.

SEMPRONIA, FVLVIA, GALLA.

FVLVIA, good wench, how dost thou? FVL. Well, SEMPRONIA.
Whither are you thus early addrest? SEM. To see
AVRELIA ORESTILLA. Shee sent for me.
I came to call thee, with me, wilt thou goe?
FVL. I cannot now, in troth, I haue some letters
To write, and send away. SEM. Alas, I pitty thee.
I ha'beene writing all this night (and am
So very weary) vnto all the *tribes*,
And *centuries*, for their voyces, to helpe CATILINE,
In his election. We shall make him *Consul*,
I hope, amongst vs. CRASSVS, I, and CAESAR
Will carry it for him. FVL. Do's he stand for 't?
SEM. H'is the chiefe *Candidate*. FVL. Who stands beside?
(Giue me some wine, and poulder for my teeth.
SEM. Here's a good pearle in troth! FVL. A pretty one.
SEM. A very orient one!) There are competitors,
CAIVS ANTONIVS, PVBLIVS GALBA, LVCIVS
CASSIVS LONGINVS, QVINTVS CORNIFICIVS,
— CAIVS LICINIVS, and that talker, CICERO.
But CATILINE, and ANTONIVS will be chosen.
For foure o' the other, LICINIVS, LONGINVS,
GALBA, and CORNIFICIVS will giue way.
And CICERO they will not choose. FVL. No? why?
SEM. It will be cross'd, by the nobilitie.
GAL. (How shee do's vnderstand the common businesse!)
SEM. Nor, were it fit. He is but a new fellow,

*Enter* SEMPRONIA. S. D.—G. 96 ha'] have 1716, W. G. 102 H'is] He's 1692, Q3, 1716, W, G. 110 o'] of Q1, Q2. 114 [*Aside*. S. N.—G.

An in-mate, here, in *Rome* (as CATILINE calls him)
And the *Patricians* should doe very ill,
To let the *Consul*-ship be so defil'd
As't would be, if he obtain'd it! A meere vpstart,
That has no pedigree, no house, no coate, [700]
No ensignes of a family? FVL. He'has vertue.
SEM. Hang vertue, where there is no bloud: 'tis vice,
And, in him, sawcinesse. Why should he presume
To be more learned, or more eloquent,
Then the nobilitie? or boast any qualitie
Worthy a noble man, himselfe not noble?
FVL. 'Twas vertue onely, at first, made all men noble.
SEM. I yeeld you, it might, at first, in *Romes* poore age;
When both her Kings, and *Consuls* held the plough,
Or garden'd well: But, now, we ha' no need,
To digge, or loose our sweat for't. We haue wealth,
Fortune and ease, and then their stock, to spend on,
Of name, for vertue; which will beare vs out
'Gainst all new commers: and can neuer faile vs,
While the succession stayes. And, we must glorifie,
A mushrome? one of yesterday? a fine speaker?
'Cause he has suck'd at *Athens*? and aduance him,
To our owne losse? No, FVLVIA. There are they
Can speake *greeke* too, if need were. CAESAR, and I,
Haue sate vpon him; so hath CRASSVS, too:
And others. We haue all decreed his rest,
For rising farder. GAL. Excellent rare lady!
FVL. SEMPRONIA, you are beholden to my woman, here.
Shee do's admire you. SEM. O good GALLA, how dost thou?
CAL. The better, for your learned ladiship.
SEM. Is this grey poulder, a good dentifrice?

FVL. You see I vse it. SEM. I haue one is whiter.
FVL. It may be so. SEM. Yet this smells well.
GAL. And clenses
Very well, madame, and resists the crudities.
SEM. FVLVIA, I pray thee, who comes to thee, now?
Which of our great *Patricians*? FVL. Faith, I keepe
No catalogue of 'hem. Sometimes I haue one,
Sometimes another, as the toy takes their blouds.
SEM. Thou hast them all. Faith, when was QVINTVS CVRIVS,
Thy speciall seruant, here? FVL. My speciall Seruant?
SEM. Yes, thy idolater, I call him. FVL. He may be yours,
If you doe like him. SEM. How! FVL. He comes, not, here,
I haue forbid him, hence. SEM. VENVS forbid!
FVL. Why? SEM. Your so constant louer. FVL. So much the rather.
I would haue change. So would you too, I am sure.
And now, you may haue him. SEM. Hee's fresh yet, FVLVIA:
Beware, how you doe tempt me. FVL. Faith, for me,
He'is somewhat too fresh, indeed. The salt is gone,
That gaue him season. His good gifts are done.
[701] He do's not yeeld the crop that he was wont.
And, for the act, I can haue secret fellowes,
With backs worth ten of him, and shall please me
(Now that the land is fled) a myriade better.
SEM. And those one may command. FVL. 'Tis true: these Lordings,
Your noble *Faunes*, they are so imperious, saucy,
Rude, and as boistrous as *Centaures*, leaping

148 so.] so, 1640. 159 Constant] unconstant Q2. 169 Lordings] Lordlings 1640, 1692, 1716, W, G.

A lady, at first sight. SEM. And must be borne
Both with, and out, they thinke. FVL. Tut, Ile obserue
None of 'hem all: nor humour 'hem a iot
Longer, then they come laden in the hand,
And say, here's t'one, for th'tother. SEM. Do's CAESAR giue well?
FVL. They shall all giue, and pay well that come here,
If they will haue it: and that iewells, pearle,
Plate, or round summes, to buy these. I'am not taken
With a cob-swan, or a high-mounting bull,
As foolish LEDA, and EVROPA were,
But the bright gold, with DANAE. For such price,
I would endure, a rough, harsh IVPITER,
Or ten such thundring gamsters: and refraine
To laugh at 'hem, till they are gone, with my much suffring.
SEM. Th'art a most happy wench, that thus canst make
Vse of thy youth, and freshnesse, in the season:
And hast it, to make vse of. FVL. (Which is the happinesse.)
SEM. I am, now, faine to giue to them, and keepe
Musique, and a continuall table, to inuite 'hem;
FVL. (Yes, and they study your kitchin, more then you)
SEM. Eate myselfe out with vsury, and my lord, too,
And all my officers, and friends beside,
To procure moneyes, for the needfull charge
I must be at, to haue 'hem: and, yet, scarce
Can I atchieue 'hem, so. FVL. Why, that's because

176 t' one for th' tother] one for t'other 1716, W, G; tone for, etc. Q1.

You affect yong faces onely, and smooth chinnes,
SEMPRONIA. If youl'd loue beards, and bristles,
(One with another, as others doe) or wrinkles———
Who's that? Looke GALLA. GAL. 'Tis the party, madame.
FVL. What party? Has he no name? GAL. 'Tis QVINTVS CVRIVS.
FVL. Did I not bid 'hem, say, I kept my chamber?
GAL. Why, so they doe. SEM. Ile leaue you, FVLVIA.
FVL. Nay, good SEMPRONIA, stay. SEM. In faith, I will not.
FVL. By IVNO, I would not see him. SEM. Ile not hinder you.
GAL. You know, he will not be kept out, madame. SEM. No,
Nor shall not, carefull GALLA, by my meanes.
FVL. As I doe live, SEMPRONIA—SEM. What needs this?
FVL. Goe, say, I am a-sleepe, and ill at ease.
[702] SEM. By CASTOR, no, I'le tell him, you are awake;
And very well. Stay GALLA; Farewell FVLVIA:
I know my manners. Why doe you labour, thus,
With action, against purpose? QVINTVS CVRIVS,
Shee is, yfaith, here, and in disposition.
FVL. Spight, with your courtesie! How shall I be tortur'd!

CVRIVS, FVLVIA, GALLA.

VVHere are you, faire one, that conceale your selfe,
And keepe your beautie, within locks, and barres, here,

199 [*Knocking within.* S. N.—G. *Enter* CURIUS. S. D.—G.
214 [*Exit.* S. N.—G.

Like a fooles treasure? FVL. True, shee was a foole,
When, first, shee shew'd it to a thiefe. CVR. How,
pretty solennesse!
So harsh and short? FVL. The fooles artillery, sir.
CAR. Then, take my gowne off, for th'encounter.
FVL. Stay sir.
I am not in the moode. CVR. I'le put you into't.
FVL. Best put your selfe, i'your case againe, and
keepe
Your furious appetite warme, against you haue place
for't.
CVR. What! doe you coy it? FVL. No sir.
I'am not proud.
CVR. I would you were. You thinke, this state
becomes you!
By HERCVLES, it do's not. Looke i'your glasse, now,
And see, how sciruely that countenance shewes;
You would be loth to owne it. FVL. I shall not
change it.
CVR. Faith, but you must; and slack this bended
brow;
And shoot lesse scorne: there is a fortune comming
Towards you, Daintie, that will take thee, thus,
And set thee aloft, to tread vpon the head
Of her owne statue, here, in *Rome*. FVL. I wonder;
Who let this promiser in! Did you, good diligence?
Giue him his bribe, againe. Or if you had none,
Pray you demand him, why he is so ventrous,
To presse, thus, to my chamber, being forbidden,
Both, by my selfe, and seruants? CVR. How! This's
handsome!
And somewhat a new straine! FVL. 'Tis not strain'd, sir.
'Tis very naturall. CVR. I haue knowne it otherwise,

221 [*Takes off his gown.* S. N.—G. 228 how] om. Q2.

Betweene the parties, though. FVL. For your fore-
knowledge,
Thanke that, which made it. It will not be so,
Hereafter, I assure you. FVR. No, my mistris?
FVL. No, though you bring the same materialls.
CVR. Heare me,
You ouer-act when you should vnder-doe.
A little call your selfe againe, and thinke.
If you doe this to practise on me, or finde
At what forc'd distance you can hold your seruant;
That' it be an artificiall trick, to enflame,
And fire me more, fearing my loue may need it,
[703] As, heretofore, you ha' done: why, proceede.
FVL. As I ha' done heretofore? CVR. Yes, when
you'ld faine
Your husbands iealousie, your seruants watches,
Speake softly, and runne often to the dore,
Or to the windore, forme strange feares that were not;
As if the pleasure were lesse acceptable,
That were secure. FVL. You are an impudent fellow.
CVR. And, when you might better haue done it, at
the gate,
To take me in at the casement. FVL. I take you in?
CVR. Yes, you my lady. And, then, being a-bed
with you,
To haue your well taught wayter, here, come running,
And cry, her lord, and hide me without cause,
Crush'd in a chest, or thrust vp in a chimney.
When he, tame crow, was winking at his farme;
Or, had he beene here, and present, would haue kept
Both eyes, and beake seal'd vp, for sixe *sesterces*.
FVL. You haue a slanderous, beastly, vnwash'd
tongue,

267 seal'd] seel'd W, G.

I'your rude mouth, and sauouring your selfe,
Vn-manner'd lord. CVR. How now! FVL. It is your title, sir.
Who (since you ha' lost your owne good name, and know not
What to loose more) care not, whose honor you wound,
Or fame'you poyson with it. You should goe,
And vent your selfe, i' the region, where you liue,
Among the suburbe-brothels, bawdes, and brokers,
Whither your broken fortunes haue design'd you.
CVR. Nay, then I must stop your fury, I see; and pluck
The tragick visor off. Come, lady CYPRIS,
Know your owne vertues, quickly. Ile not be
Put to the wooing of you thus, a-fresh,
At euery turne, for all the VENVS in you.
Yeeld, and be pliant; or by POLLVX———How now?
Will LAIS turne a LVCRECE? FVL. No, but by CASTOR,
Hold off your rauishers hands, I pierce your heart, else.
Ile not be put to kill my selfe, as shee did
For you, sweet TARQVINE. What? doe you fall off?
Nay, it becomes you graciously! Put not vp.
You'll sooner draw your weapon on me, I thinke it,
Then on the *Senate*, who haue cast you forth
Disgracefully, to be the common tale
Of the whole citie; base, infamous man!
For, were you other, you would there imploy
Your desperate dagger. CVR. FVLVIA, you doe know
The strengths you haue vpon me; doe not vse
Your power too like a tyran: I can beare,
Almost vntill you breake me. FVL. I doe know, sir,
So do's the *Senate*, too, know, you can beare. [704]

*He offers to force her and shee drawes her knife.*

271 you ha'] you've W, G. Marginal direction om. Q1, Q2. [*Offers to force her, she draws her knife.*] S. N.—G.

CVR. By all the gods, that *Senate* will smart deepe
For your vpbraidings. I should be right sorry
To haue the meanes so to be veng'd on you,
(At least, the will) as I shall shortly on them.
But, goe you on still; fare you well, deare lady:
You could not still be faire'vnlesse you were proud.
You will repent these moodes, and ere't be long, too.
I shall ha' you come about, againe. FVL. Doe you thinke so?
CVR. Yes, and I know so. FVL. By what augurie?
CVR. By the faire entrailes of the matrons chests,
Gold, pearle, and iewells, here in *Rome*, which FVLVIA
Will then (but late) say that shee might haue shar'd:
And, grieuing, misse. FVL. Tut, all your promis'd mountaynes,
And seas, I am so stalely acquainted with———
CVR. But, when you see the vniuersall floud
Runne by your coffers, that my lords, the *Senators*,
Are sold for slaues, their wiues for bond-women,
Their houses, and fine gardens giuen away,
And all their goods, vnder the speare, at out cry,
And you haue none of this; but are still FVLVIA,
Or perhaps lesse, while you are thinking of it:
You will aduise then, Coynesse, with your cushion,
And looke o' your fingers; say, how you were wish'd;
And so, he left you. FVL. Call him againe, GALLA:
This is not vsuall! something hangs on this
That I must winne out of him. CVR. How now, melt you?
FVL. Come, you will laugh, now, at my easinesse!
But, 'tis no miracle: Doues, they say, will bill,
After their pecking, and their murmuring. CVR. Yes,

311 stalely] stately Q2. 321 [*Exit.* S. N.—G. [*Exit Galla.* S. N.—G. 323 *Re-enter* CURIUS. S. D.—G.

And then 'tis kindly. I would haue my loue
Angrie, sometimes, to sweeten off the rest
Of her behauiour. FVL. You doe see, I studie
How I may please you, then. But you thinke, CVRIVS,
'Tis couetise hath wrought me: if you loue me,
Change that vnkinde conceipt. CVR. By my lou'd soule,
I loue thee, like to it; and 'tis my studie,
More then mine owne reuenge, to make thee happy.
FVL. And 'tis that iust reuenge doth make me happy
To heare you prosequute: and which, indeed,
Hath wonne me, to you, more, then all the hope
Of what can alse be promis'd. I loue valour
Better, then any lady loues her face,
Or dressing: then my selfe do's. Let me grow
Still, where I doe embrace. But, what good meanes
Ha' you t'effect it? Shall I know your proiect? [705]
CVR. Thou shalt, if thou'lt be gracious. FVL. As I can be.
CVR. And wilt thou kisse me, then? FVL. As close as shells
Of cockles meet. CVR. And print 'hem deepe? FVL. Quite through
Our subtle lips. CVR. And often? FVL. I will sow 'hem,
Faster, then you can reape. What is your plot?
CVR. Why, now my FVLVIA lookes, like her bright name!
And is her selfe! FVL. Nay, answere me, your plot:
I pray thee tell me, QVINTVS. CVR. I, these sounds
Become a mistris. Here is harmonie!
When you are harsh, I see, the way to bend you

*She kisses and flatters him along still.*

350 pray] pr'y 1640, 1692, 1716. Marginal note inserted as side note at 355 by G: [*Kisses and flatters him along still.*

Is not with violence, but seruice. Cruell,
A lady is a fire: gentle, a light.
FVL. Will you not tell me, what I aske you? CVR. All,
That I can thinke, sweet loue, or my brest holds,
Ile poure into thee. FVL. What is your designe, then?
CVR. Ile tell thee; CATILINE shall now be *Consull*:
But, you will heare me more, shortly. FVL. Nay, deare loue——
CVR. Ile speake it, in thine armes, let vs goe in.
*Rome* will be sack'd, her wealth will be our prize;
By publique ruine, priuate spirits must rise.

CHORVS.

GReat father MARS, and greater IOVE,
By whose high auspice, *Rome* hath stood
So long; and, first, was built in blood
Of your great nephew, that then stroue
Not with his brother, but your rites:
Be present to her now, as then,
And let not proud, and factious men
Against your wills oppose their mights.
Our *Consuls*, now, are to be made;
O, put it in the publique voice
To make a free, and worthy choice:
Excluding such as would inuade
The common wealth. Let whom we name
Haue wisedome, fore-sight, fortitude,
Be more with faith, then face endu'd
And studie conscience, aboue fame.
Such, as not seeke to get the start

[*Exeunt.* S. N.—G.

G divides Chorus into 8-line stanzas. 365 built] build Q2.

In state, by power, parts, or bribes,
Ambition's bawdes: but moue the *tribes*
By vertue, modestie, desart.
Such, as to iustice will adhere, [706]
What euer great one it offend:
And from the' embraced truth not bend
For enuy, hatred, gifts, or feare.
That, by their deeds, will make it knowne,
Whose dignitie they doe sustaine;
And life, state, glorie, all they gaine,
Count the republiques, not their owne.
Such the old BRVTI, DECII were,
The CIPI, CVRTII, who did giue
Themselves for *Rome*: and would not liue,
As men, good, only for a yeere.
Such were the great CAMILLI, too;
The FABII, SCIPIO'S; that still thought
No worke, at price inough, was bought,
That for their countrey they could doe.
And, to her honor, so did knit;
As all their acts were vnderstood
The sinewes of the publique good:
And they themselves, one soule, with it.
These men were truely magistrates;
These neither practis'd force, nor formes:
Nor did they leaue the helme, in stormes!
And such they are make happy states.

## ACT III.

### CICERO, CATO, CATVLVS, ANTONIVS, CRASSVS, CAESAR, CHORVS, LICTORS.

GReat honors are great burdens: but, on whom
They'are cast with enuie, he doth beare two loades.
His cares must still be double to his ioyes,
In any dignitie; where, if he erre
He findes no pardon: and, for doing well
A most small praise, and that wrung out by force.
I speake this, *Romanes*, knowing what the weight
Of the high charge, you 'haue trusted to me, is.
Not, that thereby I would with art decline
The good, or greatnesse of your benefit;
For, I ascribe it to your singular grace,
And vow, to owe it to no title else,
[707] Except the gods, that CICERO' is your *Consul*.
I haue no vrnes; no dustie moniments;
No broken images of ancestors,
Wanting an eare, or nose; no forged tables
Of long descents; to boast false honors from:
Or be my vnder-takers to your trust.
But a new man (as I am stil'd in *Rome*)
Whom you haue dignified; and more, in whom
Yo'haue cut a way, and left it ope for vertue
Hereafter, to that place: which our great men
Held shut vp, with all ramparts, for themselues.
Nor haue but few of them, in time beene made
Your *Consuls*, so; new men, before me, none:

ACT III. SCENE I. *The Field of Mars. Enter* CICERO, CATO, CATULUS, ANTONIUS, CRASSUS, CAESAR, *Chorus, Lictors, and People.* S. D.—G. 2 beare] wear 1716. 6 most] om. Q2. 21 a way] away Q2. 23 ramparts] rampires Q1, Q2.

At my first suite; in my iust yeere; preferd
To all competitors; and some the noblest———
CRA. Now the vaine swels. CAES. Vp glorie.
CIC. And to haue
Your loud consents, from your owne vtter'd voices;
Not silent bookes: nor from the meaner *tribes*,
But first, and last the vniuersall concourse!
This is my ioy, my gladnesse. But my care,
My industrie, and vigilance now must worke,
That still your counsells of me be approu'd;
Both, by your selues, and those, to whom you haue,
With grudge, prefer'd me: two things I must labour,
That neither they vpbraid, nor you repent you.
For euery lapse of mine will, now, be call'd
Your error, if I make such. But, my hope is,
So to beare through, and out, the *Consul*-ship,
As spight shall ne're wound you, though it may me.
And, for my selfe, I haue prepar'd this strength,
To doe so well; as, if there happen ill
Vnto me, it shall make the gods to blush:
And be their crime, not mine, that I am enui'd!
CAES. O confidence! more new, then is the man.
CIC. I know well, in what termes I doe receiue
The common wealth, how vexed, how perplex'd:
In which, there's not that mischiefe, or ill fate,
That good men feare not, wicked men expect not.
I know, beside, some turbulent practises
Alreadie on foot, and rumors of moe dangers———
CRA. Or you will make them, if there be none. CIC.
Last,
I know, 'twas this, which made the enuie, and pride

28 [*Aside to Caesar.*] S. N.—G. 34 be] om. Q2. 49 there's] there is Q2. 52 moe] more 1716, W, G. 53 [*Aside.* S. N.—G.

Of the great *Romane* bloud bate, and giue way
To my election. CAT. MARCVS TVLLIVS, true;
[708] Our need made thee our *Consul*, and thy vertue.
CAES. CATO, you will vn-doe him, with your praise.
CATO. CAESAR will hurt himselfe, with his owne enuie.
CHOR. The voice of CATO is the voice of *Rome*.
CATO. The voice of *Rome* is the consent of heauen!
And that hath plac'd thee, CICERO, at the helme,
Where thou must render, now, thy selfe a man,
And master of thy art. Each petty hand
Can steere a ship becalm'd; but he that will
Gouerne, and carry her to her ends, must know
His tides, his currents; how to shift his sailes;
What shee will beare in foule, what in faire weathers;
Where her springs are, her leakes; and how to stop 'hem;
What sands, what shelues, what rocks doe threaten her;
The forces, and the natures of all winds,
Gusts, stormes, and tempests; when her keele ploughs hell,
And deck knocks heauen: then, to manage her,
Becomes the name, and office of a pilot.
CIC. Which I'le performe, with all the diligence,
And fortitude I haue; not for my yeere,
But for my life; except my life be lesse,
And that my yeere conclude it: if it must,
Your will, lou'd gods. This heart shall yet employ
A day, an houre is left me, so, for *Rome*,
As it shall spring a life, out of my death,
To shine, for euer glorious in my facts.
The vicious count their yeeres, vertuous their acts.
CHOR. Most noble *Consul*! Let vs wait him home.

60 CHOR.] People G. 84 CHOR.] People G. [*Exeunt Cato, Cicero, Lictors, and People.* S. N.—G.

CAES. Most popular *Consul* he is growne, me thinks!
CRA. How the rout cling to him! CAES. And CATO leads 'hem!
CRA. You, his colleague, ANTONIVS, are not look't on.
ANT. Not I, nor doe I care. CAES. He enioyes rest,
And ease, the while. Let th'others spirit toile,
And wake it out, that was inspir'd for turmoile.
CATV. If all reports be true, yet, CAIVS CAESAR,
The time hath need of such a watch, and spirit.
CAES. Reports? Doe you beleeue 'hem CATVLVS?
Why, he do's make, and breed 'hem for the people;
T'endeare his seruice to 'hem. Doe you not tast
An art, that is so common? Popular men,
They must create strange monsters, and then quell 'hem;
To make their artes seeme something. Would you haue
Such an HERCVLEAN actor in the scene,
And not his HYDRA? They must sweat no lesse
To fit their properties, then t'expresse their parts. [709]
CRA. Treasons, and guiltie men are made in states
Too oft, to dignifie the magistrates.
CATV. Those states be wretched, that are forc'd to buy
Their rulers fame, with their owne infamy.
CRA. We therefore, should prouide that ours doe not.
CAES. That will ANTONIVS make his care. ANT. I shall.
CAES. And watch the watcher. CATV. Here comes CATILINE.
How do's he brooke his late repulse? CAES. I know not.

93 CATVLVS ?] CATVLVS, F1, F2. 104 Speech wrongly assigned to CRA. Q2.

But hardly sure. CAT. LONGINVS, too, did stand?
CAES. At first: but he gaue way vnto his friend.
CATV. Who's that come? LENTVLVS? CAES. Yes. He is againe
Taken into the *Senate*. ANT. And made *Praetor*.
CAT. I know't. He had my suffrage, next the *Consuls*.
CAES. True, you were there, Prince of the *Senate*, then.

[709] CATILINE, ANTONIVS, CATVLVS, CAESAR, CRASSVS, LONGINVS, LENTVLVS.

HAile noblest *Romanes*. The most worthy *Consul*, I gratulate your honor. ANT. I could wish
I had been happier, by your fellowship,
Most noble SERGIVS, had it pleas'd the people.
CATI. It did not please the gods; who'instruct the people:
And their vnquestion'd pleasures must be seru'd.
They know what's fitter for vs, then our selues;
And 'twere impietie, to thinke against them.
CATV. You beare it rightly, LVCIVS; and, it glads me,
To find your thoughts so euen. CATI. I shall still
Studie to make them such to *Rome*, and heauen.
(I would with-draw with you, a little, IVLIVS.
CAES. Ile come home to you: CRASSVS would not ha' you
To speake to him, 'fore QVINTVS CATVLVS.
CATI. I apprehend you.) No, when they shall iudge

114 *Consuls*.] *Consuls*; F1, F2. *Enter* CATILINE, LONGINUS, *and* LENTULUS. S. D.—G. 127 [*Aside to Caes.* S. N.—G. 130 [*Aside.* S. N.—G.

Honors conuenient for me, I shall haue 'hem,
With a full hand: I know it. In meane time,
They are no lesse part of the common-wealth,
That doe obey, then those, that doe command.
CATV. O, let me kisse your fore-head, LVCIVS.
How are you wrong'd! CATI. By whom? CATV.
Publike report
That giues you out, to stomack your repulse;
And brooke it deadly. CATI. Sir, shee brookes not me.
Beleeue me rather, and your selfe, now, of me:
It is a kinde of slander, to trust rumour.
CATV. I know it. And I could be angrie with it. [710]
CATI. So may not I. Where it concernes himselfe,
Who's angrie at a slander, makes it true.
CATV. Most noble SERGIVS! This your temper
melts me.
CRA. Will you doe office to the *Consul*, QVINTVS?
CAES. Which CATO, and the rout haue done the
other?
CATV. I wait, when he will goe. Be still your selfe.
He wants no state, or honors, that hath vertue.
CATI. Did I appeare so tame, as this man thinkes me?
Look'd I so poore? so dead? So like that nothing,
Which he calls vertuous? O my breast, breake quickly;
And shew my friends my in-parts, lest they thinke
I haue betraid 'hem. (LON. Where's GABINIVS?
LEN. Gone.
LON. And VARGVNTEIVS? LEN. Slipt away;
all shrunke:
Now that he mist the *Consul*-ship.) CATI. I am
The scorne of bond-men; who are next to beasts.

147 when] then Q2. 148 vertue.] vertue, F1, F2. [*Exeunt Catulus, Antonius, Caesar, Crassus, Lictors,* &c. S. N.—G.
150 I] om. Q2. 153 [*Aside.* S. N.—G.

What can I worse pronounce my selfe, that's fitter?
The owle of *Rome*, whom boyes, and girles will hout!
That were I set vp, for that woodden god,
That keeps our gardens, could not fright the crowes,
Or the least bird from muiting on my head.
(LON. 'Tis strange how he should misse it. LEN. Is't not stranger,
The vpstart CICERO should carrie it so,
By all consents, from men so much his masters?
LON. 'Tis true.) CATI. To what a shaddow, am I melted!
(LON. ANTONIVS wan it but by some few voices.)
CATI. Strooke through, like aire, and feele it not. My wounds
Close faster, then they're made. (LEN. The whole designe,
And enterprise is lost by't. All hands quit it,
Vpon his faile.) CATI. I grow mad at my patience.
It is a visor that hath poison'd me.
Would it had burnt me vp, and I died inward:
My heart first turn'd to ashes. (LON. Here's CETHEGVS yet.)

CATILINE, CETHEGVS, LENTVLVS, LONGINVS, CATO.

REpulse vpon repulse? An in-mate, *Consul*?
That I could reach the axell, where the pinnes are,
Which bolt this frame; that I might pull 'hem out,
And pluck all into *chaos*, with my selfe.
CET. What, are we wishing now? CATI. Yes, my CETHEGVS.

162 [*Aside.* S. N.—G. 166 [*Aside.* S. N.—G. 168 [*Aside.* S. N.—G. 173 [*Aside.* S. N.—G. *Enter* CETHEGUS. S. D.—G.

Who would not fall with all the world about him?
CET. Not I, that would stand on it, when it falls;
And force new nature out, to make another.
These wishings tast of woman, not of *Romane.* [711]
Let vs seeke other armes. CATI. What should we doe?
CET. Doe, and not wish; something, that wishes take not:
So sodaine, as the gods should not preuent,
Nor scarce haue time, to feare. CATI. O noble CAIVS!
CET. It likes me better, that you are not *Consul.*
I would not goe through open dores, but break 'hem;
Swim to my ends, through bloud; or build a bridge
Of carcasses; make on, vpon the heads
Of men, strooke downe, like piles; to reach the liues
Of those remaine, and stand: Then is't a prey,
When danger stops, and ruine makes the way.
CATI. How thou dost vtter me, braue soule, that may not,
At all times, shew such as I am; but bend
Vnto occasion! LENTVLVS, this man,
If all our fire were out, would fetch downe new,
Out of the hand of IOVE; and riuet him
To *Caucasus*, should be but frowne: and let
His owne gaunt Eagle flie at him, to tire.
LEN. Peace, here comes CATO. CATI. Let him come, and heare.
I will no more dissemble. Quit vs all;
I, and my lou'd CETHEGVS here, alone
Will vndertake this giants warre, and carrie it.
LEN. What needs this, LVCIVS? LON. SERGIVS, be more warie.
CATI. Now, MARCVS CATO, our new *Consuls* spie,
What is your sowre austeritie sent t'explore?

196 Vnto] Upon 1640, 1692, 1716. 206 *Re-enter* CATO. S. D.—G. 207 explore ?] explore. F1, F2.

CATO. Nothing in thee, licentious CATILINE:
Halters, and racks cannot expresse from thee
More, then thy deeds. 'Tis onely iudgement waits thee.
CATI. Whose? CATO'S? shall he iudge me?
CATO. No, the gods;
Who, euer, follow those, they goe not with:
And *Senate*; who, with fire, must purge sicke *Rome*
Of noisome citizens, whereof thou art one.
Be gone, or else let me. 'Tis bane to draw
The same aire with thee. CET. Strike him. LEN. Hold, good CAIVS.
CET. Fear'st thou not, CATO? CATO. Rash CETHEGVS, no.
'Twere wrong with *Rome*, when CATILINE and thou
Doe threat, if CATO fear'd. CATI. The fire you speake of
If any flame of it approch my fortunes,
Ile quench it, not with water, but with ruine.
CATO. You heare this, *Romanes*. CATI. Beare it to the *Consul*.
CET. I would haue sent away his soule, before him.
You are too heauie, LENTVLVS, and remisse;
It is for you we labour, and the kingdome
Promis'd you by the SYBILL'S. CATI. Which his *Praetor*-ship,
[712] And some small flatterie of the *Senate* more,
Will make him to forget. LEN. You wrong me, LVCIVS.
LON. He will not need these spurres. CET. The action needs 'hem.
These things, when they proceed not, they goe backward.
LEN. Let vs consult then. CET. Let vs, first, take armes,

216 CAIVS.] CAIUS; F1, F2. 222 [*Exit.* S. N.—G.

They that denie vs iust things, now, will giue
All that we aske; if once they see our swords.
CAT. Our obiects must be sought with wounds, not words.

CICERO, FVLVIA.

IS there a heauen? and gods? and can it be
They should so slowly heare, so slowly see!
Hath IOVE no thunder? or is IOVE become
Stupide as thou art? Ô neere-wretched *Rome*,
When both thy *Senate*, and thy gods doe sleepe,
And neither thine, nor their owne states doe keepe!
What will awake thee, heauen? what can excite
Thine anger, if this practice be too light?
His former drifts partake of former times,
But this last plot was onely CATILINES.
O, that it were his last. But he, before
Hath safely done so much, hee'll still dare more.
Ambition, like a torrent, ne're lookes back;
And is a swelling, and the last affection
A high minde can but off: being both a rebell
Vnto the soule, and reason, and enforceth
All lawes, all conscience, treades vpon religion,
And offereth violence to natures selfe.
But, here, is that transcends it! A black purpose
To confound nature: and to ruine that,
Which neuer age, nor mankinde can repaire!
Sit downe, good lady; CICERO is lost
In this your fable: for, to thinke it true
Tempteth my reason. It so farre exceedes
All insolent fictions of the tragick *scene*!

234 [*Exeunt.* S. N.—G. SCENE II. Cicero's *House.* *Enter* CICERO *and* FULVIA. S. D.—G. 239 thy ... thy] the ... the Q2.

The common-wealth, yet panting, vnder-neath
The stripes, and wounds of a late ciuill warre,
Gasping for life, and scarce restor'd to hope;
To seeke t'oppresse her, with new crueltie,
And vtterly extinguish her long name,
With so prodigious, and vnheard-of fiercenesse!
What sinke of monsters, wretches of lost minds,
Mad after change, and desp'rate in their states,
Wearied, and gall'd with their necessities,
[713] (For all this I allow them) durst haue thought it?
Would not the barbarous deeds haue beene beleeu'd,
Of MARIVS, and SYLLA, by our children,
Without this fact had rise forth greater, for them?
All, that they did, was pietie, to this!
They, yet, but murdred kinsfolke, brothers, parents,
Rauish'd the virgins, and, perhaps, some matrons;
They left the citie standing, and the temples:
The gods, and maiestie of *Rome* were safe yet!
These purpose to fire it, to dispoile them,
(Beyond the other euils) and lay wast
The farre-triumphed world: for, vnto whom
*Rome* is too little, what can be inough?

FVL. 'Tis true, my lord, I had the same discourse.

CIC. And, then, to take a horride sacrament
In humane bloud, for execution
Of this their dire designe; which might be call'd
The height of wickednesse: but that, that was higher,
For which they did it! FVL. I assure your lordship,
The extreme horror of it almost turn'd me
To aire, when first I heard it; I was all
A vapor, when 'twas told me: and I long'd
To vent it any where. 'Twas such a secret,

269 713] misprinted 317 F1, F2. 272 rise] rose W; risse' G.

I thought, it would haue burnt me vp. CIC. Good
FVLVIA,
Feare not your act; and lesse repent you of it.
FVL. I doe not, my good lord. I know to whom
I haue vterr'd it. CIC. You haue discharg'd it, safely.
Should *Rome*, for whom you haue done the happy seruice,
Turne most ingrate; yet were your vertue paid
In conscience of the fact: so much good deedes
Reward themselves. FVL. My lord, I did it not
To any other aime, but for it selfe.
To no ambition. CIC. You haue learn'd the difference
Of doing office to the publike weale,
And priuate friendship: and haue shewne it, lady.
Be still your selfe. I haue sent for QVINTVS CVRIVS,
And (for your vertuous sake) if I can winne him,
Yet, to the common-wealth; he shall be safe too.
FVL. Ile vnder-take, my lord, he shall be won.
CIC. Pray you, ioyne with me, then: and helpe to
worke him.

CICERO, LICTOR, FVLVIA, CVRIVS. [714]

HOw now? Is he come? LIC. He'is here, my
lord. CIC. Go presently,
Pray my colleague ANTONIVS, I may speake with him,
About some present businesse of the state;
And (as you goe) call on my brother QVINTVS,
And pray him, with the *Tribunes* to come to me.
Bid CVRIVS enter. FVLVIA, you will aide me?
FVL. It is my dutie. CIC. O, my noble lord!
I haue to chide you, yfaith. Giue me your hand.

307 shall] will Q1, Q2.
314 [*Exit Lict.*] S. N.—G.
*Enter a* Lictor. S. D.—G.
*Enter* CURIUS. S. D.—G.

Nay, be not troubled; 't shall be gently, CVRIVS.
You looke vpon this lady? What! Doe you ghesse
My businesse, yet? Come, if you frowne, I thunder:
Therefore, put on your better lookes, and thoughts.
There's nought but faire, and good intended to you;
And I would make those your complexion.
Would you, of whom the *Senate* had that hope,
As, on my knowledge, it was in their purpose,
Next sitting, to restore you: as they ha'done
The stupide, and vngratefull LENTVLVS
(Excuse me, that I name you thus, together,
For, yet, you are not such) would you, I say,
A person both of bloud and honor, stock't
In a long race of vertuous ancestors,
Embarke your selfe for such a hellish action,
With parricides, and traytors; men turn'd *furies*,
Out of the wast, and ruine of their fortunes!
(For 'tis despaire, that is the mother of madnesse)
Such as want (that, which all conspirators,
But they, haue first) meere colour for their mischiefe?
O, I must blush with you. Come, you shall not labour
To extenuate your guilt, but quit it cleane;
Bad men excuse their faults, good men will leaue 'hem.
He acts the third crime, that defends the first.
Here is a lady, that hath got the start,
In pietie of vs all; and, for whose vertue,
I could almost turne louer, againe: but that
TERENTIA would be iealous. What an honor
Hath shee atchieued to her selfe! What voices,
Titles, and loud applauses will pursue her,
Through euery street! What windores will be fill'd,
To shoot eyes at her! What enuy, and griefe in matrons,
They are not shee! when this her act shall seeme

347 euery] ever Q3.

Worthier a chariot, then if POMPEY came, [715]
With *Asia* chain'd! All this is, while shee liues.
But dead, her very name will be a statue!
Not wrought for time, but rooted in the minds
Of all posteritie: when brasse, and marble,
I, and the *Capitol* it selfe is dust!
FVL. Your honor thinks too highly of me. CIC. No:
I cannot thinke inough. And I would haue
Him emulate you. 'Tis no shame, to follow
The better precedent. Shee shewes you, CVRIVS,
What claime your countrey layes to you; and what dutie
You owe to it: be not afraid, to breake
With murderers, and traytors, for the sauing
A life, so neere, and necessary to you,
As is your countries. Thinke but on her right.
No child can be too naturall to his parent.
Shee is our common mother, and doth challenge
The prime part of vs; doe not stop, but giue it:
He, that is void of feare, may soone be iust.
And no religion binds men to be traitors.
FVL. My lord, he vnderstands it; and will follow
Your sauing counsell: but his shame, yet, stayes him.
I know, that he is comming. CVR. Doe you know it?
FVL. Yes, let me speake with you. CVR. O you
are—FVL. What am I?
CVR. Speake not so loud. FVL. I am, what you
should be,
Come, doe you thinke, I'ld walke in any plot,
Where madame SEMPRONIA should take place of me,
And FVLVIA come i' the *rere*, or o' the *by*?
That I would be her second, in a businesse,
Though it might vantage me all the sunne sees?

373 [*Takes him aside.* S. N.—G. 374 [*Lowering her voice.* S. N.—G. 377 o'] on Q1, Q2.

It was a silly phant'sie of yours. Apply
Your selfe to me, and the *Consul*, and be wise;
Follow the fortune I ha' put you into:
You may be something this way, and with safetie.
CIC. Nay, I must tolerate no whisperings, lady.
FVL. Sir, you may heare. I tell him, in the way,
Wherein he was, how hazardous his course was.
CIC. How hazardous? how certayne to all ruine.
Did he, or doe, yet, any of them imagine
The goods, would sleepe, to such a *Stygian* practice,
Against that common-wealth, which they haue founded
With so much labour, and like care haue kept,
Now neere seuen hundred yeeres? It is a madnesse,
Wherewith heauen blinds 'hem, when it would confound 'hem,
That they should thinke it. Come, my CVRIVS,
[716] I see your nature's right; you shall no more
Be mention'd with them: I will call you mine,
And trouble this good shame, no farder. Stand
Firme for your countrey; and become a man
Honor'd, and lou'd. It were a noble life,
To be found dead embracing her. Know you,
What thankes, what titles, what rewards the *Senate*
Will heape vpon you, certaine, for your seruice?
Let not a desperate action more engage you.
Then safetie should: and wicked friendship force
What honestie, and vertue cannot worke.
FVL. He tells you right, sweet friend: 'Tis sauing counsaile.
CVR. Most noble *Consul*, I am yours, and hers;
I mean my countries: you 'haue form'd me new.
Inspiring me, with what I should be, truely.
And I intreat, my faith may not seeme cheaper

380 silly] seely Q1. phant'sie] fancie Q2.

For springing out of penitence. CIC. Good CVRIVS,
It shall be dearer rather, and because
Il'd make it such, heare, how I trust you more.
Keepe still your former face: and mixe againe
With these lost spirits. Runne all their mazes with 'hem:
For such are treasons. Find their windings out,
And subtle turnings, watch their snaky wayes,
Through brakes, and hedges, into woods of darkenesse,
Where they are faine to creepe vpon their brests
In paths ne're trod by men, but wolues, and panthers.
Learne, beside CATILINE, LENTVLVS, and those,
Whose names I haue; what new ones they draw in;
Who else are likely; what those great ones are,
They doe not name; what wayes they meane to take;
And whither their hopes point: to warre, or ruine,
By some surprize. Explore all their intents,
And what you finde may profit the republique,
Acquaint me with it, either, by your selfe,
Or this your vertuous friend, on whom I lay
The care of vrging you. Ile see, that *Rome*
Shall proue a thankefull, and a bounteous mother:
Be secret as the night. CVR. And constant, sir.
CIC. I doe not doubt it. Though the time cut off
All vowes. The dignitie of truth is lost,
With much protesting. Who is there! This way,
Lest you be seene, and met. And when you come,
Be this your token, to this fellow. Light 'hem. *He whispers with him.*
O *Rome*, in what a sicknesse art thou fall'n!
How dangerous, and deadly! when thy head
Is drown'd in sleepe, and all thy body feu'ry! [717]
No noise, no pulling, no vexation wakes thee,

425 whither] whether G. point:] point G. 435 *Enter a* Servant. S. D.—G. Marginal direction om. Q1, Q2. [*whispers with him.*] S. N.—G. [*Exit Servant with Cur. and Fulvia.* S. N.—G.

Thy *lethargie* is such: or if, by chance,
Thou heau'st thy eye-lids vp, thou dost forget
Sooner, then thou wert told, thy proper danger.
I did vn-reuerendly, to blame the gods,
Who wake for thee, though thou snore to thy selfe.
Is it not strange, thou shouldst be so diseas'd,
And so secure? But more, that the first symptomes
Of such a maladie, should not rise out
From any worthy member, but a base
And common strumpet, worthlesse to be nam'd
A haire, or part of thee? Thinke, thinke, hereafter,
What thy needes were, when thou must vse such meanes:
And lay it to thy brest, how much the gods
Vpbraid thy foule neglect of them; by making
So vile a thing, the author of thy safetie.
They could haue wrought by nobler wayes: haue strooke
Thy foes with forked lightning; or ramm'd thunder;
Throwne hills vpon 'hem, in the act; haue sent
Death, like a dampe, to all their families;
Or caus'd their consciences to burst 'hem. But,
When they will shew thee what thou art, and make
A scornefull difference 'twixt their power, and thee,
They helpe thee by such aides, as geese, and harlots.
How now? What answer? Is he come? LIC. Your brother,
Will streight be here; and your colleague ANTONIVS
Said, coldly, he would follow me. CIC. I, that
Troubles me somewhat, and is worth my feare.
He is a man, 'gainst whom I must prouide,
That (as hee'll doe no good) he doe no harme.
He, though he be not of the plot, will like it,

443 heau'st] have Q2. 445 vn-reuerendly] unreverently Q2, 1640, 1692, 1716, G. 446 to] for 1692. 454 how] haste Q3. 460 all] fall Q2. 465 *Re-enter* Lictor. S. D.—G. 467 [*Exit.* S. N.—G.

And wish it should proceed: for, vnto men,
Prest with their wants, all change is euer welcome.
I must with offices, and patience win him;
Make him, by art, that which he is not borne,
A friend vnto the publique; and bestow
The *prouince* on him; which is by the *Senate*
Decreed to me: that benefit will bind him.
'Tis well, if some men will doe well, for price:
So few are vertuous, when the reward's away.
Nor must I be vnmindfull of my priuate;
For which I haue call'd my brother, and the *tribunes*,
My kins-folke, and my clients to be neere me:
He that stands vp 'gainst traytors, and their ends, [718]
Shall need a double guard, of law, and friends:
Especially, in such an enuious state,
That sooner will accuse the magistrate,
Then the delinquent; and will rather grieue
The treason is not acted, then beleeue.

CAESAR, CATILINE.

THe night growes on; and you are for your meeting:
Ile therefore end in few. Be resolute,
And put your enterprise in act: the more
Actions of depth, and danger are consider'd,
The lesse assuredly they are perform'd.
And thence it hapneth, that the brauest plots
(Not executed straight) haue been discouer'd.
Say, you are constant, or another, a third,
Or more; there may be yet one wretched spirit,
With whom the feare of punishment shall worke
'Boue all the thoughts of honor, and reuenge.

473 their] her Q2. 483 kins-folke] Kinsfolks G. 489 [*Exit.* S. N.—G. SCENE III. *A Room in* Catiline's *House. Enter* CAESAR *and* CATILINE. S. D.—G.

You are not, now, to thinke what's best to doe,
As in beginnings; but, what must be done,
Being thus entred: and slip no aduantage
That may secure you. Let 'hem call it mischiefe;
When it is past, and prosper'd, 'twill be vertue.
Th'are petty crimes are punish'd, great rewarded.
Nor must you thinke of perill; since, attempts,
Begunne with danger, still doe end with glory:
And, when need spurres, despaire will be call'd wisdome.
Lesse ought the care of men, or fame to fright you;
For they, that win, doe seldome receiue shame
Of victorie: how ere it be atchiu'd;
And vengeance, least. For who, besieg'd with wants,
Would stop at death, or any thing beyond it?
Come, there was neuer any great thing, yet,
Aspired, but by violence, or fraud:
And he that sticks (for folly of a conscience)
To reach it———CAT. Is a good religious foole.
CAES. A supertitious slaue, and will die beast.
Good night. You know what CRASSVS thinkes, and I,
By this: Prepare you wings, as large as sayles,
To cut through ayre, and leaue no print behind you.
A serpent, ere he comes to be a dragon,
Do's eate a bat: and so must you a *Consul*,
[719] That watches. What you doe, doe quickly SERGIVS.
You shall not stir for mee. CAT. Excuse me, lights there.
CAES. By no meanes. CAT. Stay then. All good thoughts to CAESAR.
And like to CRASSVS. CAES. Mind but your friends counsells.

502 but] om. Q2. 519 beast] a Beast 1716. 521 you] your G. 525 [*Going.* S. N.—G. 528 [*Exit.* S. N.—G.

CATILINE, AVRELIA, LECCA.

OR, I will beare no mind. How now, AVRELIA?
Are your confederates come? the ladies? AVR. Yes.
CAT. And is SEMPRONIA there? AVR. She is.
CAT. That's well.
Shee ha's a sulphurous spirit, and will take
Light at a sparke. Breake with them, gentle loue,
About the drawing as many of their husbands,
Into the plot, as can: if not, to rid 'hem.
That'll be the easier practice, vnto some,
Who haue beene tir'd with 'hem long. Sollicite
Their aydes, for money: and their seruants helpe,
In firing of the citie, at the time
Shall be design'd. Promise 'hem states, and empires,
And men, for louers, made of better clay,
Then euer the old potter TITAN knew.
Who's that? O, PORCIVS LECCA! Are they met?
LEC. They are all, here. CAT. Loue, you haue your instructions:
Ile trust you with the stuffe you haue to worke on.
You'll forme it? PORCIVS, fetch the siluer eagle
I ga' you in charge. And pray 'hem, they will enter.

CATILINE, CETHEGVS, CVRIVS, LENTVLVS, VARGVNTEIVS, LONGINVS, GABINIVS, CEPARIVS, AVTRONIVS, &c.

O, Friends, your faces glad me. This will be
Our last, I hope, of consultation.

*Enter* AURELIA. S. D.—G. 542 potter] Porter 1640, 1692, 1716. *Enter* LECCA. S. D.—G. 546 [*Exit Aurelia.*] S. N.—G. 547 [*Exit Lecca.* S. N.—G. *Enter* CETHEGUS, &c. S. D.—G.

CET. So, it had need. CVR. We loose occasion, daily.
CAT. I, and our meanes: whereof one wounds me most,
That was the fairest. PISO is dead, in *Spaine.*
CET. As we are, here. LON. And, as it is thought, by enùy
Of POMPEY'S followers. LEN. He too's comming backe,
Now, out of *Asia.* CAT. Therefore, what we intend,
We must be swift in. Take your seates, and heare.
I haue, already, sent SEPTIMIVS
Into the *Picene* territorie; and IVLIVS,
To raise force, for vs, in *Apulia*:
MANLIVS at Fesulae, is (by this time) vp,
[720] With the old needie troops, that follow'd SYLLA:
And all doe but expect, when we will giue
The blow at home. Behold this siluer eagle,
'Twas MARIVS standard, in the *Cimbrian* warre,
Fatall to *Rome*; and, as our augures tell me,
Shall still be so: for which one ominous cause,
I 'haue kept it safe, and done it sacred rites,
As to a god-head, in a chappell built
Of purpose to it. Pledge then all your hands,
To follow it, with vowes of death, and ruine,
Strooke silently, and home. So waters speake
When they runne deepest. Now's the time, this yeere,
The twenti'th, from the firing of the *Capitol,*
As fatall too, to *Rome,* by all predictions:
And, in which, honor'd LENTVLVS must rise

556 be swift in] be-swift it Q3. 563 *Re-enter* P. LECCA with the eagle. S. D.—G. 564 'Twas] was Q1, Q2. 569 In Q2 reads thus:

Of purpose to it, with vowes of death and ruine.

Parts of 569 and 570 are thus totally omitted.

A king, if he pursue it. CVR. If he doe not,
He is not worthy the great destinie.
LEN. It is too great for me, but what the gods,
And their great loues decree me, I must not
Seeme carelesse of. CAT. No, nor we enuious.
We haue enough beside, all *Gallia*, *Belgia*,
*Greece*, *Spaine*, and *Africke*. CVR. I, and *Asia*, too,
Now POMPEY is returning. CAT. Noblest *Romanes*,
Me thinkes our lookes, are not so quicke and high,
As they were wont. CVR. No? whose is not? CAT. We haue
No anger in our eyes, no storme, no lightning:
Our hate is spent, and fum'd away in vapor,
Before our hands, be' at worke. I can accuse
Not any one, but all of slacknesse. CET. Yes,
And be your selfe such, while you doe it. CAT. Ha?
'Tis sharply answer'd, CAIVS. CET. Truly, truly.
LEN. Come, let vs each one know his part to doe,
And then be accus'd. Leaue these vntimely quarrells.
CVR. I would there were more *Romes* then one, to ruine.
CET. More *Romes*? More worlds. CVR. Nay then, more gods, and natures,
If they tooke part. LEN. When shall the time be, first?
CAT. I thinke the *Saturnalls*. CET. 'Twill be too long.
CAT. They are not now farre off, 'tis not a month.
CET. A weeke, a day, an houre is too farre off,
Now, were the fittest time. CAT. We ha' not laid
All things so safe, and readie. CET. While we' are laying,
We shall all lye; and grow to earth. Would I

576 pursue] peruse Q2.

Were nothing in it, if not now. These things
They should be done, e're thought. CAT. Nay, now your reason
Forsakes you, CAIVS. Thinke, but what commodity
[721] That time will minister; the cities custome
Of being, then, in mirth, and feast——LEN. Loos'd whole
In pleasure and securitie——AVT. Each house
Resolu'd in freedome—CVR. Euery slaue a master——
LON. And they too no meane aides———CVR
Made from their hope
Of libertie———LEN. Or hate vnto their lords.
VAR. 'Tis sure, there cannot be a time found out
More apt, and naturall. LEN. Nay, good CETHEGVS,
Why doe your passions, now, disturbe our hopes?
CET. Why doe your hopes delude your certainties?
CAT. You must lend him his way. Thinke, for the order,
And processe of it. LON. Yes. LEN. I like not fire:
'Twill too much wast my citie. CAT. Were it embers,
There will be wealth enough, rak't out of them,
To spring a new. It must be fire, or nothing.
LON. What else should fright, or terrifie 'hem? VAR. True.
In that confusion, must be the chiefe slaughter.
CVR. Then we shall kill 'hem brauest. CEP. And in heaps.
AVT. Strew sacrifices. CVR. Make the earth an altar.
LON. And *Rome* the fire. LEC. 'Twill be a noble night.
VAR. And worth all SYLLA'S dayes. CVR. When husbands, wiues,

615 your] our 1640, 1692, 1716, W. 616 [*Aside to Lentulus.*] S. N.—G. 620 a new] anew 1640, 1716, W.

Grandsires, and nephewes, seruants, and their lords,
Virgins, and priests, the infant, and the nurse
Goe all to hell, together in a fleet.
CAT. I would haue you, LONGINVS, and STATILIVS,
To take the charge o' the firing, which must be
At a signe giuen with a trumpet, done
In twelue chiefe places of the citie, at once.
The flaxe, and sulphure, are alreadie laid
In, at CETHEGVS house. So are the weapons.
GABINIVS, you, with other force, shall stop
The pipes, and conduits: and kill those that come
For water. CVR. What shall I doe? CAT. All will haue
Employment, feare not: Ply the execution.
CVR. For that, trust me, and CETHEGVS. CAT. I will be
At hand, with the armie, to meet those that scape.
And LENTVLVS, begirt you POMPEY'S house,
To seize his sonnes aliue: for they are they
Must make our peace with him. All else cut off,
As TARQVINE did the poppy heads; or mowers
A field of thistles; or else, vp, as ploughes
Doe barren lands; and strike together flints,
And clods; th'vngratefull *Senate* and the people:
Till no rage, gone before, or comming after,
May weigh with yours, though horror leapt her selfe
Into the scale; but, in your violent acts, [722]
The fall of torrents, and the noyse of tempests,
The boyling of *Charybdis*, the seas wildnesse,
The eating force of flames, and wings of winds,
Be all out-wrought, by your transcendent furies.
It had beene done e're this, had I beene *Consul*;

628 priests,] priests F1, F2.

We'had had no stop, no let. LEN. How find you
ANTONIVS?
CAT. The'other ha's wonne him, lost: that CICERO
Was borne to be my opposition,
And stands in all our wayes. CVR. Remoue him first.
CET. May that, yet, be done sooner? CAT. Would
it were done.
CVR. VAR. I'll do't. CET. It is my prouince;
none vsurpe it.
LEN. What are your meanes? CET. Enquire not.
He shall die.
Shall, was too slowly said. He'is dying. That
Is, yet, too slow. He'is dead. CAT. Braue, only
*Romane*,
Whose soule might be the worlds soule, were that dying;
Refuse not, yet, the aides of these your friends.
LEN. Here's VARGVNTEIVS holds good quarter
with him.
CAT. And vnder the pretext of clientele,
And visitation, with the morning haile,
Will be admitted. CET. What is that to me?
VAR. Yes, we may kill him in his bed, and safely.
CET. Safe is your way, then; take it. Mine's mine
owne.
CAT. Follow him, VARGVNTEIVS, and perswade,
The morning is the fittest time. LON. The night
Will turne all into tumult. LEN. And perhaps
Misse of him too. CAT. Intreat, and coniure him,
In all our names———LEN. By all our vowes, and
friendships.

658 him,] him Q1, Q2. 664 He is] He's 1640, 1716, W, G. dying] a dying Q2. 665 yet] not Q2. 673 [*Exit.* S. N.—G. 678 [*Exit Vargunteius.* S. N.—G.

SEMPRONIA, AVRELIA, FULVIA. *To them.*

VVHat! is our consell broke vp first? AVR. You say
Women are greatest talkers. SEM. We ha' done;
And are now fit for action. LON. Which is passion.
There's your best actiuitie, lady. SEM. How
Knowes your wise fatnesse that? LON. Your mothers daughter
Did teach me, madame. CAT. Come SEMPRONIA, leaue him:
He is a giber. And our present businesse
Is of more serious consequence. AVRELIA
Tells me, you'haue done most masculinely within,
And plaid the orator. SEM. But we must hasten
To our designe as well, and execute:
Not hang still, in the feuer of an accident.
CAT. You say well, lady. SEM. I doe like our plot
Exceeding well, 'tis sure; and we shall leaue
Little to fortune, in it. CAT. Your banquet stayes. [723]
AVRELIA, take her in. Where's FVLVIA?
SEM. O, the two louers are coupling. CVR. In good faith,
Shee's very ill, with sitting vp. SEM. Youl'd haue her
Laugh, and lye downe? FVL. No, faith, SEMPRONIA,
I am not well: I'le take my leaue, it drawes
Toward the morning. CVRIVS shall stay with you.
Madame, I pray you, pardon me, my health
I must respect. AVR. Fare-well, good FVLVIA.
CVR. Make hast, and bid him get his guards about him. *Curius whispers this to Fuluia*

*Enter* SEMPRONIA, AURELIA, *and* FULVIA. S. D.—G. Q2 curiously misprints *to them*, the marginal note, as part of speech of LEN. 680 [*Whispers with Cat. while Ful. takes Cur. aside.* S. N.—G. 684 CAT.] Speech wrongly assigned to CET. by F1, F2. 688 plaid] play 1640, 1692. Marginal note om. Q1, Q2. 702 [*Aside to Fulvia.*] S. N.—G.

For VARGVNTEIVS, and CORNELIVS
Haue vndertane it, should CETHEGVS misse:
Their reason, that they thinke his open rashnesse
Will suffer easier discouerie,
Then their attempt, so vayled vnder friendship.
Ile bring you to your coach. Tell him, beside,
Of CAESARS comming forth, here. CAT. My sweet madame,
Will you be gone? FVL. I am, my lord, in truth,
In some indisposition. CAT. I doe wish
You had all you health, sweet lady: LENTVLVS,
You'll doe her seruice. LEN. To her coach, and dutie.

CATILINE.

VVHat ministers men must, for practice, vse!
The rash, th' ambitious, needy, desperate,
Foolish, and wretched, eu'n the dregs of mankind,
To whores, and the women! still, it must be so.
Each haue their proper place; and, in their roomes,
They are the best. Groomes fittest kindle fires,
Slaues carry burdens, butchers are for slaughters,
Apothecaries, butlers, cookes for poysons;
As these for me: dull, stupide LENTVLVS,
My stale, with whom I stalke; the rash CETHEGVS,
My executioner; and fat LONGINVS,
STATILIVS, CVRIVS, CEPARIVS, CIMBER,
My labourers, pioners, and incendiaries;
With these domesticke traytors, bosome theeues,
Whom custome hath call'd wiues; the readiest helps,
To betray headie husbands; rob the easie:
And lend the moneys, on returnes of lust.

713 [*Exeunt all but Catiline.* S. N.—G. 724 to betray headie husbands] to strangle headstrong husbands Q1, Q2, W, G.

Shall CATILINE not doe, now, with these aides,
So sought, so sorted, something shall be call'd
Their labour, but his profit? and make CAESAR
Repent his ventring counsells, to a spirit,
So much his lord in mischiefe? when all these, [724]
Shall, like the brethren sprung of dragons teeth,
Ruine each other; and he fall amongst 'hem:
With CRASSVS, POMPEY, or who else appeares,
But like, or neere a great one. May my braine
Resolue to water, and my bloud turne phlegme,
My hands drop off, vnworthy of my sword,
And that b'inspired, of it selfe, to rip
My brest, for my lost entraills; when I leaue
A soule, that will not serue: and who will, are
The same with slaues, such clay I dare not feare.
The cruelty, I meane to act, I wish
Should be call'd mine, and tarry in my name;
Whil'st, after-ages doe toile out themselues,
In thinking for the like, but doe it lesse:
And, were the power of all the fiends let loose,
With fate to boot, it should be, still, example.
When, what the *Gaule*, or *Moore* could not effect,
Nor emulous *Carthage*, with their length of spight,
Shall be the worke of one, and that my night.

CICERO, FVLVIA, QVINTVS.

I Thanke your vigilance. Where's my brother, QVINTVS?
Call all my seruants vp. Tell noble CVRIVS,
And say it to your selfe, you are my sauers;
But that's too little for you, you are *Romes*:

754 [*Exit.* S. N.—G. SCENE IV. *A Room in* CICERO'S *House. Enter* CICERO, FULVIA, *and Attendant.* S. D.—G. 756 [*Exit Attendant.*] S. N.—G.

What could I then, hope lesse? O brother! now,
The engines I told you of, are working;
The machine 'gin's to moue. Where are your weapons?
Arme all my house-hold presently. And charge
The porter, he let no man in, till day.
QVI. Not clients, and your friends? CIC. They weare those names,
That come to murther me. Yet send for CATO,
And QVINTVS CATVLVS; those I dare trust:
And FLACCVS, and POMTINIVS, the *Praetors*,
By the backe way. QVI. Take care, good brother MARCVS,
Your feares be not form'd greater, then they should;
And make your friends grieue, while your enemies laugh.
CIC. 'Tis brothers counsell, and worth thankes. But doe
As I intreat you. I prouide, not feare.
Was CAESAR there, say you? FVL. CVRIVS sayes, he met him,
Comming from thence. CIC. O, so. And, had you a counsell
Of ladies too? Who was your speaker, madame?
FVL. Shee that would be, had there beene fortie more;
SEMPRONIA, who had both her *greeke*, and *figures*;
And, euer, and anone, would ask vs, if
The witty *Consul* could haue mended that?
Or Orator CICERO could haue said it better?
CIC. Shee's my gentle enemy. Would CETHEGVS
Had no more danger in him. But, my guards
Are you, great powers; and th'vnbated strengths
Of a firme conscience, which shall arme each step

759 *Enter* QUINTUS CICERO. S. D.—G. 760 engines] engiuers G; engines that W. 772 [*Exit Quintus.*] S. N.—G.

Tane for the state: and teach me slacke no pace
For feare of malice. How now, brother? QVI. CATO,
And QVINTVS CATVLVS were comming to you,
And CRASSVS with 'hem. I haue let 'hem in,
By th' garden. CIC. What would CRASSVS have?
QVI. I heare
Some whispering 'bout the gate; and making doubt,
Whether it be not yet too early, or no?
But I doe thinke, they are your friends, and clients,
Are fearefull to disturbe you. CIC. You will change
To 'another thought, anone. Ha' you giu'n the porter
The charge, I will'd you? QVI. Yes. CIC. Withdraw, and hearken.

VARGVNTEIVS, CORNELIVS, PORTER,
CICERO, CATO, CATVLVS,
CRASSVS.

THe dore's not open, yet. COR. You'were best to knocke.
VAR. Let them stand close, then: And, when we are in,
Rush after vs. COR. But where's CETHEGVS?
VAR. He
Has left it, since he might not do't his way.
POR. Who's there? VAR. A friend, or more.
POR. I may not let
Any man in, till day. VAR. No? why? COR. Thy reason?

786 *Re-enter* QUINTUS. S. D.—G. 795 CIC.] 1640 omits, and assigns speech wrongly to QVI; so also 1716. [*Exeunt.* S. N.—G. SCENE V. *The street before* Cicero's *House. Enter* VARGUNTEIUS, *and* CORNELIUS, *with armed men.* S. D.—G. 799 [*Knocks.* S. N.—G. 800 POR. [*within.*] S. N.—G. So, too, at 802. Q2 om. POR. and assigns speech wrongly to VAR.

POR. I am commanded so. VAR. By whom?
COR. I hope
We are not discouer'd. VAR. Yes, by reuelation.
Pray thee, good slaue, who has commanded thee?
POR. He that may best, the *Consul*. VAR. We are his friends.
POR. All's one. COR. Best giue your name. VAR. Do'st thou heare, fellow?
I haue some instant businesse with the *Consul*.
*Cicero speakes to them from above.* My name is VARGVNTEIVS. CIC. True, he knowes it;
And for what friendly office you are sent.
CORNELIVS, too, is there? VAR. We are betraid.
CIC. And desperate CETHEGVS, is he not?
VAR. Speake you, he knowes my voyce. CIC. What say you to't?
COR. You are deceiu'd, sir. CIC. No, 'tis you are so;
Poore, misse-led men. Your states are yet worth pitty,
If you would heare, and change your sauage minds.
Leaue to be mad; forsake your purposes
[726] Of treason, rapine, murder, fire, and horror:
The common-wealth hath eyes, that wake as sharpely
Ouer her life, as yours doe for her ruine.
Be not deceiu'd, to thinke her lenitie
Will be perpetuall; or, if men be wanting,
The gods will be, to such a calling cause.
Consider your attempts, and while there's time,
Repent you of 'hem. It doth make me tremble
There should those spirits yet breath, that when they cannot
Liue honestly, would rather perish basely.

805 POR. [*within.*] S. N.—G. So, too, at 806. 808 CIC. [*appears at the window above, with Cato, Catulus, and Crassus.*] S. N.—G. Marginal note om. Q1, Q2.

CATO. You talke too much to 'hem, MARCVS, they'are lost.
Goe forth, and apprehend 'hem. CATV. If you proue
This practice, what should let the common-wealth
To take due vengeance? VAR. Let vs shift, away.
The darkenesse hath conceal'd vs, yet. Wee'll say
Some haue abus'd our names. COR. Deny it all.
CATO. QVINTVS, what guards ha' you? Call the *Tribunes* aide,
And raise the citie. *Consul*, you are too mild,
The foulenesse of some facts takes thence all mercy:
Report it to the *Senate*. Heare: The gods
Grow angrie with your patience. 'Tis their care,
And must be yours, that guiltie men escape not.
As crimes doe grow, iustice should rouse it selfe.

*It thunders and lightens violently on the sodaine.*

CHORVS.

VVHat is it, heauens, you prepare
With so much swiftnesse, and so sodaine rising?
There are no sonnes of earth, that dare,
Againe, rebellion? or the gods surprising?
The world doth shake, and nature feares,
Yet is the tumult, and the horror greater
Within our minds, then in our eares:
So much *Romes* faults (now growne her fate) doe threat her.

832 [*Exeunt below.* S. N.—G. 835 [*It thunders and lightens violently on a sudden*] S. N.—G. 837 'Tis] This Q2. 839 [*Exeunt above.* S. N.—G. Marginal note missing Q1, Q2. G divides Chorus into 4-line stanzas. 846 then] and Q2.

The priests, and people runne about,
Each order, age, and sexe amaz'd at other;
And, at the ports, all thronging out,
As if their safety were to quit their mother:
Yet finde they the same dangers there,
From which they make such hast to be preserued;
For guiltie states doe euer beare
The plagues about them, which they haue deserued.
And, till those plagues doe get aboue
The mountayne of our faults, and there doe sit;
Wee see 'hem not. Thus, still we loue
The 'euill we doe, vntill we suffer it.
[727] But, most, ambition, that neere vice
To vertue, hath the fate of *Rome* prouoked;
And made, that now *Rome's* selfe no price,
To free her from the death, wherewith shee's yoked.
That restlesse ill, that still doth build
Vpon successe; and ends not in aspiring;
But there begins. And ne're is fill'd,
While ought remaines that seemes but worth desiring:
Wherein the thought, vnlike the eye,
To which things farre, seeme smaller then they are,
Deemes all contentment plac'd on high:
And thinkes there's nothing great, but what is farre.
O, that in time, *Rome* did not cast
Her errors vp, this fortune to preuent;
T'haue seene her crimes 'ere they were past:
And felt her faults, before her punishment.

848 priests,] Priest 1640, 1692, 1716. 862 selfe] selfe ('s) G.
868 vnlike] much like Q2.

## ACT IIII

*Diuers Senators passe by quaking, and trembling.*

### ALLOBROGES.

CAn these men feare? who are not onely ours,
But the worlds masters? Then I see, the gods
Vpbraid our suffrings, or would humble them;
By sending these affrights, while we are here;
That we might laugh at their ridiculous feare,
Whose names, we trembled at, beyond the *Alpes*.
Of all that passe, I doe not see a face
Worthy a man; that dares looke vp, and stand
One thunder out: but downe-ward all, like beasts,
Running away from euery flash is made.
The falling world could not deserue such basenesse.
Are we emploid here, by our miseries,
Like superstitious fooles (or rather slaues)
To plaine our griefs, wrongs, and oppressions,
To a meere clothed *Senate*, whom our folly
Hath made, and still intends to keepe our tyrannes?
It is our base petitionarie breath
That blowes 'hem to this greatnesse; which this pricke
Would soone let out, if we were bold, and wretched.
When they haue taken all we haue, our goods,
Crop, lands, and houses, they will leaue vs this:
A weapon, and an arme will still be found,
Though naked left, and lower then the ground.

### CATO, CATVLVS, CICERO, ALLOBROGES. [728]

DOe; vrge thine anger, still: good heauen, and iust.
Tell guiltie men, what powers are aboue them.

ACT IV. SCENE I. *A Street at the foot of the Capitol.* [*The storm continued.*] *Enter the* Allbrogian Ambassadors. *Divers Senators pass by them, quaking and trembling.* S. D.—G. Speech assigned to 1 *Amb.* by G. 6 trembled] tremble $Q_2$. 18 [*Points to his sword.* S. N.—G. 19 and] as W. *Enter* CATO, CATULUS, *and* CICERO. S. D.—G. 24 iust] a just $Q_2$.

In such a confidence of wickednesse,
'Twas time, they should know something fit to feare.
CATV. I neuer saw a morne more full of horror.
CATO. To CATILINE, and his: But, to iust men
Though heauen should speake, with all his wrath at once,
That, with his breath, the hinges of the world
Did cracke, we should stand vpright, and vnfear'd.
CIC. Why, so we doe, good CATO. Who be these?
CATV. Ambassadors, from the ALLOBROGES,
I take 'hem, by their habits. ALL. I, these men
Seeme of another race; let's sue to these,
There's hope of iustice, with their fortitude.
CIC. Friends of the *Senate*, and of *Rome*, to day,
We pray you to forbeare vs: on the morrow
What sute you haue, let vs, by FABIVS SANGA,
(Whose patronage your state doth vse) but know it,
And, on the *Consul's* word, you shall receiue
Dispatch, or else an answere, worth your patience.
ALL. We could not hope for more, most worthy *Consul.*
This magistrate hath strooke an awe into me,
And, by his sweetnesse, wonne a more reguard
Vnto his place, then all the boystrous moodes
That ignorant greatnesse practiseth, to fill
The large, vnfit authoritie it weares.
How easie is a noble spirit discern'd
From harsh, and sulphurous matter, that flies out
In contumelies, makes a noyse, and stinkes!
May we find good, and great men: that know how
To stoup to wants, and meete necessities,
And will not turne from any equall suites.
Such men, they doe not succour more the cause,

35 ALL.] 1 *Am.* G. 44 ALL.] 2 *Am.* G. [*Exeunt Cato, Catulus, and Cicero.* S. N.—G.

They vnder-take, with fauour, and successe;
Then, by it, their owne iudgements they doe raise,
In turning iust mens needs, into their praise.

## THE SENATE.

PRAE. Roome for the *Consuls*. Fathers, take your places.
Here, in the house of IVPITER, the STAYER,
By edict from the *Consul*, MARCVS TVLLIVS,
You'are met, a frequent *Senate*. Heare him speake.
CIC. *What may be happy, and auspicious still* [729]
*To Rome, and hers*. Honor'd, and conscript Fathers,
If I were silent, and that all the dangers
Threatning the state, and you, were yet so hid
In night, or darkenesse thicker in their brests,
That are the blacke contriuers; so, that no
Beame of the light could pierce 'hem: yet the voyce
Of heau'n, this morning, hath spoke loud inough,
T'instruct you with a feeling of the horror;
And wake you from a sleepe, as starke, as death.
I haue, of late, spoke often in this *Senate*,
Touching this argument, but still haue wanted
Either your eares, or faith: so' incredible
Their plots haue seem'd, or I so vaine, to make
These things for mine owne glorie, and false greatnesse
As hath beene giuen out. But be it so.
When they breake forth, and shall declare themselues,
By their too foule effects, then, then, the enuy
Of my iust cares will find another name.
For me, I am but one: and this poore life,

59 [*Exeunt.* S. N.—G. SCENE II. *The Temple of Jupiter Stator. Enter* CICERO, ANTONIUS, CATO, CATULUS, CAESAR, CRASSUS, *and many other Senators, Prætor, Officers,* &c. S. D.—G. 62 TVLLIVS,] TVLLIVS. F1, F2. 64 what] which Q1, Q2.

So lately aim'd at, not an houre yet since,
They cannot with more eagernesse pursue,
Then I with gladnesse would lay downe, and loose,
To buy *Romes* peace, if that would purchase it.
But when I see, they'ld make it but the step
To more, and greater; vnto yours, *Romes*, all:
I would with those preserue it, or then fall.
CAES. I, I, let you alone, cunning artificer!
See, how his gorget'peeres aboue his gowne;
To tell the people, in what danger he was.
It was absurdly done of VARGVNTEIVS,
To name himselfe, before he was got in.
CRA. It matters not, so they denie it all:
And can but carry the lye constantly.
Will CATILINE be here? CAES. I'haue sent for him.
CRA. And ha' you bid him to be confident?
CAES. To that his owne necessitie will prompt him.
CRA. Seeme to beleeue nothing at all, that CICERO
Relates vs. CAES. It will mad him. CRA. O, and helpe
The other partie. Who is that? his brother?
What new intelligence ha's he brought him now?
CAES. Some cautions from his wife, how to behaue him.
*Quintus Cicero brings in the Tribunes, and guards.* CIC. Place some of them without, and some bring in.
Thanke their kind loues. It is a comfort yet,
That all depart not from their countries cause.
[730] CAES. How now, what meanes this muster? *Consul*, ANTONIVS?
ANT. I doe not know, aske my colleague, hee'll tell you.

84 yet since] sithence Q1. 95 [*Aside to Crassus.* S. N.—G. Marginal direction missing Q1, Q2. *Enter* Q. CICERO *with the Tribunes and Guards.* S. D.—G.

There is some reason in state, that I must yeeld to;
And I haue promis'd him: indeed he has bought it,
With giuing me the *Prouince.* CIC. I professe,
It grieues me, *Fathers,* that I am compell'd
To draw these armes, and aides for your defence;
And, more, against a citizen of *Rome,*
Borne here amongst you, a *Patrician,*
A man, I must confesse, of no meane house,
Nor no small vertue, if be had employ'd
Those excellent gifts of fortune, and of nature,
Vnto the good, not ruine of the state.
But, being bred in's fathers needy fortunes,
Brought vp in's sisters prostitution,
Confirm'd in ciuill slaughter, entring first
The common-wealth, with murder of the gentrie;
Since, both by studie, and custome, conuersant
With all licentiousnesse: what could be hop'd
In such a field of riot, but a course
Extreme pernicious? Though, I must protest,
I found his mischiefs, sooner, with mine eyes,
Then with my thought; and with these hands of mine,
Before they touch'd, at my suspicion.
CAES. What are his mischiefs, *Consul*? you declame
Against his manners, and corrupt your owne:
No wise man should, for hate of guiltie men,
Loose his owne innocence. CIC. The noble CAESAR
Speakes god-like truth. But, when he heares, I can
Conuince him, by his manners, of his mischiefs,
He might be silent: and not cast away
His sentences in vaine, where they scarce looke
Toward his subiect. CATO. Here he comes himselfe. *Catiline sits downe, and Cato rises, from him.*

141 *Enter* CATILINE, *and sits down by* CATO, *who quits his place.*
S. D.—G. No note in Q1, Q2.

If he be worthy any good mans voyce,
That good man sit downe by him: CATO will not.
CATV. If CATO leaue him, I'le not keepe aside.
CATI. What face is this, the *Senate* here puts on,
Against me, *Fathers*! Giue my modestie
Leaue, to demand the cause of so much strangenesse.
CAES. It is reported here, you are the head
To a strange faction, LVCIVS. CIC. I, and will
Be prou'd against him. CATI. Let it be. Why, *Consul*,
If in the common-wealth, there be two bodies,
One leane, weake, rotten, and that hath a head;
The other strong, and healthfull, but hath none:
[731] If I doe giue it one, doe I offend?
Restore your selues, vnto your temper, *Fathers*;
And, without perturbation, heare me speake.
Remember who I am, and of what place,
What petty fellow this is, that opposes;
One, that hath exercis'd his eloquence,
Still to the bane of the nobilitie:
A boasting, insolent tongue-man. CATO. Peace, leud traytor,
Or wash thy mouth. He is an honest man
And loues his countrey, would thou didst so, too.
CATI. CATO, you are too zealous for him. CATO. No;
Thou art too impudent. CATV. CATILINE, be silent.
CATI. Nay, then, I easily feare, my iust defence
Will come too late, to so much preiudice.
(CAES. Will he sit downe?) CATI. Yet, let the world forsake me,
My innocence must not. CATO. Thou innocent?
So are the *Furies*. CIC. Yes, and *Ate*, too.

144 [*Rises.* S. N.—G. 168 [*Aside.* S. N.— G.

Do'st thou not blush, pernicious CATILINE?
Or, hath the palenesse of thy guilt drunke vp
Thy bloud, and drawne thy veines, as drie of that,
As is thy heart of truth, thy brest of vertue?
Whither at length wilt thou abuse our patience?
Still shall thy furie mocke vs? To what licence
Dares thy vnbridled boldnesse runne it selfe?
Doe all the nightly guards, kept on the palace,
The cities watches, with the peoples feares,
The concourse of all good men, this so strong
And fortified seate here of the *Senate*,
The present lookes vpon thee, strike thee nothing?
Do'st thou not feele thy counsells all laid open?
And see thy wild conspiracie bound in
With each mans knowledge? which of all this order
Canst thou thinke ignorant (if they'll but vtter
Their conscience to the right) of what thou didst
Last night, what on the former, where thou wert,
Whom thou didst call together, what your plots were?
O age, and manners! This the *Consul* sees,
The *Senate* vnderstands, yet this man liues!
Liues? I, and comes here into counsell with vs;
Partakes the publique cares: and with his eye
Markes, and points out each man of vs to slaughter.
And we, good men, doe satisfie the state,
If we can shunne but this mans sword, and madnesse.
There was that vertue, once, in *Rome*, when good men
Would, with more sharpe coërcion, haue restrain'd
A wicked citizen, then the deadliest foe. [732]
We haue that law still, CATILINE, for thee;
An act as graue, as sharpe: The state's not wanting,
Nor the authoritie of this *Senate*; we,
We, that are *Consuls*, onely faile our selues.
This twentie dayes, the edge of that decree
We haue let dull, and rust; kept it shut vp,

As in a sheath, which drawne should take thy head.
Yet still thou liu'st: and liu'st not to lay by
Thy wicked confidence, but to confirme it.
I could desire, *Fathers*, to be found
Still mercifull, to seeme, in these maine perills
Grasping the state, a man remisse, and slacke;
But then, I should condemne my selfe of sloth,
And trecherie. Their campe's in *Italie*,
Pitch'd in the iawes, here, of *Hetruria*;
Their numbers daily increasing, and their generall
Within our walls: nay, in our counsell! plotting
Hourely some fatall mischiefe to the publique.
If, CATILINE, I should command thee, now,
Here, to be taken, kill'd; I make iust doubt,
Whether all good men would not thinke it done
Rather too late, then any man too cruell.

CATO. Except he were of the same meale, and batch.

CIC. But that, which ought to haue been done long since,
I will, and (for good reason) yet forbeare.
Then will I take thee, when no man is found
So lost, so wicked, nay, so like thy selfe,
But shall professe, 'tis done of need, and right.
While there is one, that dares defend thee, liue;
Thou shalt haue leaue; but so, as now thou liu'st:
Watch'd at a hand, besieged, and opprest
From working least commotion to the state.
I haue those eyes, and eares, shall still keepe guard,
And spiall on thee, as they haue euer done,
And thou not feele it. What, then, canst thou hope?
If neither night can, with her darknesse, hide,
Thy wicked meetings; nor a priuate house
Can, in her walls, contayne the guiltie whispers

209 Fathers] grave fathers G. 233 spiall] spy all Q3.

Of thy conspiracie: if all breake out,
All be discouered, change thy mind at last,
And loose thy thoughts of ruine flame, and slaughter.
Remember, how I told, here, to the *Senate*,
That such a day, thy Lictor, CAIVS MANLIVS,
Would be in armes. Was I deceiued, CATILINE?
Or in the fact, or in the time? the houre? [733]
I told too, in this *Senate*, that thy purpose
Was, on the fifth (the kalends of *Nouember*)
T'haue slaughter'd this whole order: which my caution
Made many leaue the citie. Canst thou here
Denie but this thy blacke designe was hindred,
That very day, by me? thy selfe clos'd in
Within my strengths, so that thou could'st not moue
Against a publique reed? when thou wert heard
To say, vpon the parting of the rest,
Thou would'st content thee, with the murder of vs,
That did remaine. Had'st thou not hope, beside,
By a surprize, by night, to take *Praeneste*?
Where when thou cam'st, did'st thou not find the place
Made good against thee, with my aides, my watches?
My garrisons fortified it. Thou do'st nothing, SERGIVS,
Thou canst endeauour nothing, nay not thinke,
But I both see, and heare it; and am with thee,
By, and before, about, and in thee, too.
Call but to mind thy last nights businesse. Come,
Ile vse no circumstance: at LECCA's house,
The shop, and mint of your conspiracie,
Among your sword-men, where so many associates
Both of thy mischiefe, and thy madnesse, met.
Dar'st thou denie this? wherefore art thou silent?
Speake, and this shall conuince thee: Here they are,

242 thy] the 1716. 246 the fifth (the, etc.)] the fifth o' th', etc. W; the fifth o' the, etc. G. 252 a publique reed] the public weal W.

I see 'hem, in this *Senate*, that were with thee.
O, you immortall gods! in what clime are we?
What region doe we liue in? in what ayre?
What common-wealth, or state is this we haue?
Here, here, amongst vs, our owne number, *Fathers*,
In this most holy counsell of the world,
They are, that seeke the spoyle of me, of you,
Of ours, of all; what I can name's too narrow:
Follow the sunne, and find not their ambition.
These I behold, being *Consul*; nay, I aske
Their counsells of the state, as from good Patriots:
Whom it were fit the axe should hew in prieces,
I not so much as wound, yet, with my voyce.
Thou wast, last night, with LECCA, CATILINE,
Your shares, of *Italie*, you there diuided;
Appointed who, and whither, each should goe;
What men should stay behind, in *Rome*, were chosen;
Your offices set downe; the parts mark'd out,
And places of the citie, for the fire;
Thy selfe (thou' affirmd'st) wast readie to depart,
Onely, a little let there was, that stay'd thee,
That I yet liu'd. Vpon the word, stept forth
Three of thy crew, to rid thee of that care;
Two vnder-tooke this morning, before day,
To kill me in my bed. All this I knew,
Your conuent scarce dismiss'd, arm'd all my seruants,
Call'd both my brother, and friends, shut out your clients,
You sent to visite me; whose names I told
To some there, of good place, before they came.

CATO. Yes, I, and QVINTVS CATVLVS can affirme it.

CAES. He's lost, and gone. His spirits haue forsooke him.

280 good] om. Q3. 295 conuent] covenant Q2. 296 your] our Q2. 300 [*Aside.* S. N.—G.

CIC. If this be so, why, CATILINE, do'st thou stay?
Goe, where thou mean'st. The ports are open; forth.
The campe abroad wants thee, their chiefe, too long.
Lead with thee all thy troupes out. Purge the citie.
Draw drie that noysome, and pernicious sinke,
Which left, behind thee, would infect the world. [734]
Thou wilt free me of all my feares at once,
To see a wall betweene vs. Do'st thou stop
To doe that now, commanded; which before,
Of thine owne choice, thou'rt prone to? Goe. The *Consul*
Bids thee, an enemie, to depart the citie.
Whither, thou'lt aske? to exile? I not bid
Thee that. But aske my counsell, I perswade it.
What is there, here, in *Rome*, that can delight thee?
Where not a soule, without thine owne foule knot,
But feares, and hates thee. What domesticke note
Of priuate filthinesse, but is burnt in
Into thy life? What close, and secret shame,
But is growne one, with thy knowne infamy?
What lust was euer absent from thine eyes?
What leud fact from thy hands? what wickednesse
From thy whole body? where's that youth drawne in
Within thy nets, or catch'd vp with thy baits,
Before whose rage, thou hast not borne a sword,
And to whose lusts thou hast not 'held a torch?
Thy latter nuptialls I let passe in silence;
Where sinnes incredible, on sinnes, were heap't:
Which I not name, lest, in a ciuill state,
So monstrous facts should either appeare to be,
Or not to be reueng'd. Thy fortunes, too,
I glance not at, which hang but till next *Ides*.
I come to that which is more knowne, more publike;

319 thy knowne] thine own G. 326 latter] later 1716, W.

The life, and safetie of vs all, by thee
[735] Threatned, and sought. Stood'st thou not in the field,
When LEPIDVS, and TVLLVS were our *Consuls*,
Vpon the day of choice, arm'd, and with forces,
To take their liues, and our chiefe citizens?
When, not thy feare, nor conscience chang'd thy mind,
But the meere fortune of the common-wealth
With-stood thy actiue malice? Speake but right.
How often hast thou made attempt on me?
How many of thy assaults haue I declin'd
With shifting but my body (as wee'ld say)
Wrested thy dagger from thy hand, how oft?
How often hath it falne, or slip't by chance?
Yet, can thy side not want it: which, how vow'd,
Or with what rites, 'tis sacred of thee, I know not,
That still thou mak'st it a necessitie,
To fixe it in the body of a *Consul*.
But let me loose this way, and speake to thee,
Not as one mou'd with hatred, which I ought,
But pitty, of which none is owing thee.
CAT. No more then vnto TANTALVS, or TITYVS.
CIC. Thou cam'st, e're-while, into this *Senate*. Who
Of such a frequency, so many friends,
And kindred thou hast here, saluted thee?
Were not the seates made bare, vpon thy entrance?
Riss' not the consular men? and left their places,
So soone as thou sat'st downe? and fled thy side,
Like to a plague, or ruine? knowing, how oft
They had beene, by thee, mark'd out for the shambles?
How dost thou beare this? Surely, if my slaues
At home fear'd me, with halfe th'affright, and horror,
That, here, thy fellow-citizens doe thee,

358 Riss'] Risse G; ris'd Q2. 361 they had beene, by thee,] they had by thee been W, G.

I should soone quit my house, and thinke it need too.
Yet thou dar'st tarry here? Goe forth, at last;
Condemne thy selfe to flight, and solitude.
Discharge the common-wealth, of her deepe feare.
Goe; into banishment, if thou wait'st the word.
Why do'st thou looke? They all consent vnto it.
Do'st thou expect th'authoritie of their voyces,
Whose silent wills condemne thee? While they sit,
They approue it; while they suffer it, they decree it;
And while they'are silent to it, they proclaime it.
Proue thou there honest, Ile endure the enuie.
But there's no thought, thou should'st be euer he,
Whom either shame should call from filthinesse,
Terror from danger, or discourse from furie.
Goe; I intreat thee: yet, why doe I so? [736]
When I alreadie know, they'are sent afore,
That tarry for thee'in armes, and doe expect thee
On th'AVRELIAN way. I know the day
Set downe, 'twixt thee, and MANLIVS; vnto whom
The siluer eagle too is sent, before:
Which I doe hope shall proue, to thee as banefull,
As thou conceiu'st it to the common-wealth.
But, may this wise, and sacred *Senate* say,
What mean'st thou MARCVS TVLLIVS? If thou know'st
That CATILINE be look'd for, to be chiefe
Of an intestine warre; that he'is the author
Of such a wickednesse; the caller out
Of men of marke in mischiefe, to an action
Of so much horror; Prince of such a treason;
Why do'st thou send him forth? why let him scape?
This is, to giue him libertie, and power:
Rather, thou should'st lay hold vpon him, send him

369 thou] thou thou Q3. 382 th'] the Q2, G.

To deseru'd death, and a iust punishment.
To these so holy voices, thus I answere.
If I did thinke it timely, *Conscript Fathers*,
To punish him with death, I would not giue
The Fencer vse of one short houre, to breath;
But when there are in this graue order, some,
Who, with soft censures, still doe nource his hopes;
Some, that with not beleeuing, haue confirm'd
His designes more, and whose authoritie
The weaker, as the worst men, too, haue follow'd:
I would now send him, where they all should see
Cleere, as the light, his heart shine; where no man
Could be so wickedly, or fondly stupide,
But should cry out, he saw, touch'd, felt, and grasp't it.
Then, when he hath runne out himselfe; led forth
His desp'rate partie with him; blowne together
Aides of all kindes, both shipwrack'd mindes and fortunes:
Not onely the growne euill, that now is sprung,
And sprouted forth, would be pluck'd vp, and weeded;
But the stocke, roote, and seed of all the mischiefes,
Choking the common-wealth. Where, should we take,
Of such a swarme of traytors, onely him,
Our cares, and feares might seeme a while relieu'd,
But the maine perill would bide still enclos'd
Deepe, in the veines, and bowells of the state.
As humane bodies, labouring with feuers,
While they are tost with heate, if they doe take
[737] Cold water, seeme for that short space much eas'd,
But afterward, are ten times more afflicted.
Wherefore, I say, let all this wicked crew
Depart, diuide themselues from good men, gather
Their forces to one head; as I said oft,
Let 'hem be seuer'd from vs with a wall;
Let 'hem leaue off attempts, vpon the *Consul*,
In his owne house; to circle in the *Praetor*;

To girt the court with weapons; to prepare
Fire, and balls, swords, torches, sulphure, brands:
In short, let it be writ in each mans fore-head
What thoughts he beares the publike. I here promise,
*Fathers Conscript*, to you, and to my selfe,
That diligence in vs *Consuls*, for my honor'd
Colleague, abroad, and for my selfe, at home;
So great authoritie in you; so much
Vertue, in these, the gentlemen of *Rome*;
Whom I could scarce restraine to day, in zeale,
From seeking out the parricide, to slaughter;
So much consent in all good men, and minds,
As, on the going out of this one CATILINE,
All shall be cleere, made plaine, oppres'd, reueng'd.
And, with this *omen*, goe, pernicious plague,
Out of the citie, to the wish'd destruction
Of thee, and those, that, to the ruine of her,
Haue tane that bloudie, and black sacrament.
Thou IVPITER, whom we doe call the STAYER,
Both of this citie, and this empire, wilt
(With the same auspice thou didst raise it first)
Driue from thy altars, and all other temples,
And buildings of this citie; from our walls;
Liues, states, and fortunes of our citizens;
This fiend, this furie, with his complices.
And all the'offence good men (these knowne traytors
Vnto their countrey, theeues of *Italie*,
Ioyn'd in so damn'd a league of mischiefe) thou
Wilt with perpetuall plagues, aliue, and dead,
Punish for *Rome*, and saue her innocent head.

CATI. If an oration, or high language, *Fathers*,
Could make me guiltie, here is one, hath done it:
H'has stroue to emulate this mornings thunder,

432 girt] gird 1716, W, G.

With his prodigious rhetoricke. But I hope,
This *Senate* is more graue, then to giue credit
Rashly to all he vomits, 'gainst a man
Of your owne order, a *Patrician*;
[738] And one, whose ancestors haue more deseru'd
Of *Rome*, then this mans eloquence could vtter,
Turn'd the best way: as still, it is the worst.
CATO. His eloquence hath more deseru'd to day,
Speaking thy ill, then all thy ancestors
Did, in their good: and, that the state will find,
Which he hath sau'd. CATI. How, he? were I that enemie,
That he would make me: Il'd not wish state
More wretched, then to need his preseruation.
What doe you make him, CATO, such a HERCVLES?
An ATLAS? A poore petty in-mate! CATO. Traytor
CATI. He saue the state? A burgesse sonne of *Arpinum.*
The gods would rather twentie *Romes* should perish,
Then haue that contumely stucke vpon 'hem,
That he should share with them, in the preseruing
A shed, or signe-post. CATO. Peace, thou prodigie.
CATI. They would be forc'd themselues, againe, and lost
In the first, rude, and indigested heape;
Ere such a wretched name, as CICERO,
Should sound with theirs. CATV. Away, thou impudent head.
CATI. Doe you all backe him? are you silent too?
Well, I will leaue you, *Fathers*; I will goe.
*He turnes sodainly on Cicero.* But———my fine daintie speaker——CIC. What now, *Furie*?

467 he] the 1692; om. Q2. 485 forc'd] runne Q1, Q2. Marginal direction om. Q1, Q2; inserted as S. N. by G.

Wilt thou assault me here? (CHO. Helpe, aide the *Consul.*)

CATI. See, *Fathers*, laugh you not? who threatned him?

In vaine thou do'st conceiue, ambitious orator,
Hope of so braue a death, as by this hand.

(CATO. Out, of the court, with the pernicious traytor.)

CATI. There is no title, that this flattering *Senate*,
Nor honor, the base multitude can giue thee,
Shall make thee worthy CATILINES anger. (CATO. Stop,
Stop that portentous mouth.) CATI. Or, when it shall,
Ile looke thee dead. CATO. Will none restraine the monster?

CATV. Parricide. QVI. Butcher, traytor, leaue the *Senate.*

CATI. I'am gone, to banishment, to please you, *Fathers.*
Thrust head-long forth? CATO. Still, do'st thou murmure, monster?

CATI. Since, I am thus put out, and made a———

CIC. What?

CATV. Not guiltier then thou art. CATI. I will not burne
Without my funerall pile. CATO. What saies the fiend?

CATI. I will haue matter, timber. CATO. Sing out scrich owle.

CATI. It shall be in—CATV. Speake thy imperfect thoughts.

CATI. The common fire, rather then mine owne.

492 CHO.] Omnes G. 495 this] his Q3.

For fall I will with all, ere fall alone.
CRA. H'is lost, there is no hope of him. CAES. Vnlesse
He presently take armes; and giue a blow,
[739] Before the *Consuls* forces can be leui'd.
CIC. What is your pleasure, *Fathers*, shall be done?
CATV. See, that the common-wealth receiue no losse.
CATO. Commit the care thereof vnto the *Consuls*.
CRA. 'Tis time. CAES. And need. CIC. Thankes to this frequent *Senate*.
But what decree they, vnto CVRIVS,
And FVLVIA? CATV. What the Consul shall thinke meete.
CIC. They must receiue reward, though't be not knowne;
Lest when a state needs ministers, they ha' none.
CATO. Yet, MARCVS TVLLIVS, doe not I beleeue,
But CRASSVS, and this CAESAR here ring hollow.
CIC. And would appeare so, it that we durst proue 'hem.
CATO. Why dare we not? What honest act is that,
The *Roman Senate* should not dare, and doe?
CIC. Not an vnprofitable, dangerous act,
To stirre too many serpents vp at once.
CAESAR, and CRASSVS, if they be ill men,
Are mightie ones; and, we must so prouide,
That, while we take one head, from this foule *Hydra*,
There spring not twentie more. CATO. I 'proue your counsell.
CIC. They shall be watch'd, and look'd too. Till they doe

511 [*Rushes out of the Senate.* S. N.—G. alone.] alone: F1, F2. 512 [*Aside to Caesar.* S. N.—G. 518 CAES. [*Goes aside with Crassus.* S. N.—G. 533 'proue] 'approve 1716; approve W, G. 534 too] to Q3, G.

Declare themselues, I will not put 'hem out
By any question. There they stand. Ile make
My selfe no enemies, nor the state no traytors.

CATILINE, LENTVLVS, CETHEGVS, CVRIVS, GABINIVS, LONGINVS, STATILIVS.

FAlse to our selues? All our designes discouer'd
To this state-cat? CET. I, had I had my way,
He' had mew'd in flames, at home, not i' the *Senate*:
I' had sing'd his furres, by this time. CAT. Well, there's, now,
No time of calling backe, or standing still.
Friends, be your selues; keepe the same *Roman* hearts,
And readie minds, you' had yester-night. Prepare
To execute, what we resolu'd. And let not
Labour, or danger, or discouerie fright you.
Ile to the armie: you (the while) mature
Things, here, at home. Draw to you any aides,
That you thinke fit, of men of all conditions,
Or any fortunes, that may helpe a warre.
Ile bleede a life, or winne an empire for you.
Within these few dayes, looke to see my ensignes,
Here, at the walls: Be you but firme within. [740]
Meane time, to draw an enuy on the *Consul*,
And giue a lesse suspicion of our course,
Let it be giuen out, here in the citie,
That I am gone, an innocent man, to exile,
Into *Massilia*, willing to giue way
To fortune, and the times; being vnable
To stand so great a faction, without troubling

537 traytors] traytor Q3. [*Exeunt*. S. N.—G. SCENE III. Catiline's *House*. *Enter* CATILINE, &c. S. D.—G 550 Or] Of 1640, 1692, 1716, W, G. 560 a] om. 1716.

The common-wealth: whose peace I rather seeke,
Then all the glory of contention,
Or the support of mine owne innocence.
Farewell the noble LENTVLVS, LONGINVS,
CVRIVS, the rest; and thou, my better Genius,
The braue CETHEGVS: when we meete againe,
Wee'll sacrifice to libertie. CET. And reuenge.
That we may praise our hands once. LEN. O, you *Fates*,
Giue *Fortune* now her eyes, to see with whom
Shee goes along, that shee may ne're forsake him.
CVR. He needs not her, nor them. Goe but on, SERGIVS.
A valiant man is his owne fate, and fortune.
LON. The fate, and fortune of vs all goe with him.
GAB. STA. And euer guard him. CAT. I am all your creature.
LEN. Now friends, 'tis left with vs. I haue alreadie
Dealt, by VMBRENVS, with the ALLOBROGES,
Here resiant in *Rome*; whose state I heare,
Is discontent with the great vsuries,
They are oppress'd with: and haue made complaints
Diuers, vnto the *Senate*, but all vaine.
These men, I'haue thought (both for their owne oppressions,
As also that, by nature, they'are a people
Warlike, and fierce, still watching after change,
And now, in present hatred with our state)
The fittest, and the easiest to be drawne
To our societie, and to aide the warre.
The rather, for their seate; being next bordrers
On *Italie*; and that they'abound with horse:
Of which one want our campe doth onely labour.

574 [*Exit.* S. N.—G. 576 resiant] residant Q2.

And I haue found 'hem comming. They will meete
Soone, at SEMPRONIA'S house, where I would pray you
All to be present, to confirme 'hem more.
The sight of such spirits hurt not, nor the store.
GAB. I will not faile. STA. Nor I. CVR. Nor I. CET. Would I
Had somewhat by my selfe, apart, to doe.
I' ha' no Genius to these many counsells.
Let me kill all the Senate, for my share, [741]
Ile doe it at next sitting. LEN. Worthy CAIVS,
Your presence will adde much. CET. I shall marre more.

CICERO, SANGA, ALLOBROGES.

THe state's beholden to you, FABIVS SANGA,
For this great care: And those ALLOBROGES
Are more then wretched, if they lend a listning
To such perswasion. SAN. They, most worthy *Consul*,
As men employ'd here, from a grieued state,
Groning beneath a multitude of wrongs,
And being told, there was small hope of ease
To be expected, to their euills, from hence,
Were willing, at the first to giue an eare
To any thing, that sounded libertie:
But since, on better thoughts, and my vrg'd reasons,
They'are come about, and wonne, to the true side.
The fortune of the common-wealth hath conquer'd.
CIC. What is that same VMBRENVS, was the agent?
SAN. One that hath had negotiation
In *Gallia* oft, and knowne vnto their state.

596 I' ha'] I have G. 599 [*Exeunt.* S. N.—G. SCENE IV. *The House of* Brutus. *Enter* CICERO *and* SANGA. S. D.—G.

CIC. Are th' Ambassadors come with you? SAN. Yes.

CIC. Well, bring 'hem in, if they be firme, and honest,
Neuer had men the meanes so to deserue
Of *Rome*, as they. A happy, wish'd occasion
And thrust into my hands, for the discouery,
*The Allobroges enter.* And manifest conuiction of these traytors.
Be thank'd, Ô IVPITER. My worthy lords,
Confederates of the *Senate*, you are welcome.
I vnderstand by QVINTVS FABIVS SANGA,
Your carefull patron here, you haue beene lately
Sollicited against the common-wealth,
By one VMBRENVS (take a seate, I pray you)
From PVBLIVS LENTVLVS, to be associates
In their intended warre. I could aduise,
That men, whose fortunes are yet flourishing,
And are *Romes* friends, would not, without a cause,
Become her enemies; and mixe themselues
And their estates, with the lost hopes of CATILINE,
Or LENTVLVS, whose meere despaire doth arme 'hem:
That were to hazard certainties, for aire,
And vnder-goe all danger, for a voice.
Beleeue me, friends, loud tumults are not laid
With halfe the easinesse, that they are rais'd.
[742] All may beginne a warre, but few can end it.
The *Senate* haue decreed, that my colleague
Shall leade their armie, against CATILINE,
And haue declar'd both him, and MANLIVS traytors.
METELLVS CELER hath alreadie giuen
Part of their troops defeate. Honors are promis'd

619 [*Exit Sanga.*] S. N.—G. Marginal direction missing in Q1, Q2, 1716. 621 Conuiction] Conjunction Q2. 622 *Re-enter* SANGA *with the* Allobrogian Ambassadors. S. D.—G.

To all, will quit 'hem; and rewards propos'd
Euen to slaues, that can detect their courses.
Here, in the citie, I haue by the *Praetors*,
And *Tribunes*, plac'd my guards, and watches so,
That not a foote can treade, a breath can whisper,
But I haue knowledge. And be sure, the *Senate*,
And people of *Rome*, of their accustom'd greatnesse,
Will sharply, and seuerely vindicate,
Not onely any fact, but any practice,
Or purpose, 'gainst the state. Therefore, my lords,
Consult of your owne wayes, and thinke which hand
Is best to take. You, now, are present suters
For some redresse of wrongs; Ile vnder-take
Not onely that shall be assur'd you; but
What grace, or priuiledge else, *Senate*, or people,
Can cast vpon you, worthy such a seruice,
As you haue now the way, and meanes, to doe 'hem
If but your wills consent, with my designes.

ALL. We couet nothing more, most worthy *Consul*.
And how so e're we haue beene tempted lately,
To a defection, that not makes vs guiltie:
We are not yet so wretched in our fortunes,
Nor in our wills so lost, as to abandon
A friendship, prodigally, of that price,
As is the *Senate*, and the people of *Romes*,
For hopes, that doe precipitate themselues.

CIC. You then are wise, and honest. Doe but this, then:
(When shall you speake with LENTVLVS, and the rest?

ALL. We are to meete anone, at BRVTVS house.

CIC. Who? DECIVS BRVTVS? He is not in *Rome*.

663 ALL.] 1 *Amb.* G.
665 not] now 1716, W.
669 *Senate*] Senate's 1716, W.
673 ALL.] 1 *Amb.* G.

SAN. O, but his wife SEMPRONIA. CIC. You instruct me,
Shee is a chiefe) Well, faile not you to meete 'hem,
And to expresse the best affection
You can put on, to all that they intend.
Like it, applaud it, giue the common-wealth,
And *Senate* lost to 'hem. Promise any aides
By armes, or counsell. What they can desire,
I would haue you preuent. Onely, say this,
You'haue had dispatch, in priuate, by the *Consul*,
[743] Of your affaires, and for the many feares
The state's now in, you are will'd by him, this euening,
To depart *Rome*: which you, by all sought meanes,
Will doe, of reason to decline suspicion.
Now, for the more authoritie of the businesse
They'haue trustd to you, and to giue it credit
With your owne state, at home, you would desire
Their letters to your *Senate*, and your people,
Which shewne, you durst engage both life, and honor,
The rest should euery way answere their hopes.
Those had, pretend sodaine departure, you,
And, as you giue me notice, at what port
You will goe out, Ile ha' you intercepted,
And all the letters taken with you: So
As you shall be redeem'd in all opinions,
And they conuicted of their manifest treason.
Ill deedes are well turn'd backe, vpon their authors:
And 'gainst an iniurer, the reuenge is iust.
This must be done, now. ALL. Chearefully, and firmely.
We'are they, would rather hast to vndertake it,
Then stay, to say so. CIC. With that confidence, goe:
Make your selues happy, while you make *Rome* so.
By SANGA, let me haue notice from you. ALL. Yes.

702 ALL.] 1 *Amb.* G.
706 ALL.] 1 *Amb.* G. [*Exeunt.* S. N.—G.

SEMPRONIA, LENTVLVS, CETHEGVS, GABINIVS, STATILIVS, LONGINVS, VOLTVRTIVS, ALLOBROGES.

VVHen come these creatures, the Ambassadors ?
I would faine see 'hem. Are they any schollers ?
LEN. I think not, madame. SEM. Ha' they no
*greeke* ? LEM. No surely.
SEM. Fie, what doe I here, wayting on 'hem then ?
If they be nothing but meere states-men. LEN. Yes,
Your ladiship shall obserue their grauitie,
And their reseruednesse, their many cautions,
Fitting their persons. SEM. I doe wonder much,
That states, and common-wealths employ not women,
To be Ambassadors, sometimes ! we should
Doe as good publike seruice, and could make
As honorable spies (for so THVCIDIDES
Calls all Ambassadors.) Are they come, CETHEGVS ?
CET. Doe you aske me ? Am I your scout, or baud ?
LEN. O, CAIVS, it is no such businesse. CET. No ?
What do's a woman at it then ? SEM. Good sir,
There are of vs can be as exquisite traytors,
As ere a male-conspirator of you all.
CET. I, at smock treason, matron, I beleeue you ;
And if I were your husband ; but when I
Trust to your cob-web-bosomes any other
Let me there die a flie, and feast you, spider,
LEN. You are too sowre, and harsh CETHEGVS.
CET. You
Are kind, and courtly. Il'd be torne in pieces,
With wild HIPPOLYTVS, nay proue the death,
Euery limbe ouer, e're Il'd trust a woman,

SCENE V. *A Room in* Brutus' (Sempronia's) *House. Enter* SEMPRONIA *and* LENTULUS. S. D.—G. 719 *Enter* CETHEGUS. S. D.—G.

With wind, could I retaine it. SEM. Sir. They'll be trusted
With as good secrets, yet, as you haue any:
And carry 'hem too, as close, and as conceal'd,
As you shall for your heart. CET. Ile not contend with you
Either in tongue, or carriage, good CALIPSO.
LON. Th'ambassadors are come. CET. Thanks to thee MERCVRY,
That so hast rescu'd me. LEN. How now, VOLTVRTIVS?
VOL. They doe desire some speech with you, in priuate.
LEN. O! 'tis about the prophecie, belike,
[744] And promise of the SIBYLLS. GAB. It may be.
SEM. Shun they, to treat with me, too? GAB. No, good lady,
You may partake: I haue told 'hem, who you are.
SEM. I should be loth to be left out, and here too.
CET. Can these, or such, be any aides, to vs?
Looke they, as they were built to shake the world,
Or be a moment, to our enterprise?
A thousand, such as they are, could not make
One atome of our soules. They should be men
Worth heauens feare, that looking vp, but thus,
Would make IOVE stand vpon his guard, and draw
Himselfe within his thunder; which, amaz'd,
He should discharge in vaine, and they vn-hurt.
Or, if they were, like CAPANEVS, at *Thebes*,
They should hang dead vpon the highest spires,
And aske the second bolt, to be throwne downe.

737 *Enter* LONGINUS. S. D.—G. CALIPSO.] CALIPSO: F1, F2. 739 *Enter* VOLTURTIUS, STATILIUS, *and* GABINIUS, *with the* Allobrogian Ambassadors. S. D.—G. 742 [*He takes them apart.* S. N.—G. 757 bolt] charge Q1, Q2.

Why, LENTVLVS, talke you so long? This time
Had beene enough, t'haue scatter'd all the starres,
T'haue quench'd the sunne, and moone, and made the world
Despaire of day, or any light, but ours.
LEN. How doe you like this spirit? In such men,
Mankind doth liue. They are such soules, as these,
That moue the world. SEM. I, though he beare me hard,
I, yet, must doe him right. He is a spirit
Of the right MARTIAN breed. ALL. He is a MARS!
Would we had time to liue here, and admire him.
LEN. Well, I doe see you would preuent the *Consul.*
And I commend your care: It was but reason, [745]
To aske our letters, and we had prepar'd them.
Goe in, and we will take an oath, and seale 'hem.
You shall haue letters, too, to CATILINE,
To visite him i' the way, and to confirme
The association. This our friend, VOLTVRTIVS,
Shall goe along with you. Tell our great generall,
That we are readie here; that LVCIVS BESTIA
The *Tribune,* is prouided of a speech,
To lay the enuie of the warre on CICERO;
That all but long for his approach, and person:
And then, you are made free-men, as our selues.

CICERO, FLACCVS, POMTINIVS, SANGA.

I Cannot feare the warre but to succeed well,
Both for the honor of the cause, and worth
Of him that doth command. For my colleague,

764 SEM.] SEN. F1, F2. 766 ALL.] 1 *Amb.* G. 780 [*Exeunt.* S. N.—G. SCENE VI. *A Room in* Cicero's *House.* *Enter* CICERO, FLACCUS *and* POMTINIUS. S. D.—G.

Being so ill affected with the gout,
Will not be able to be there in person;
And then PETREIVS, his lieutenant must
Of need take charge o' the armie: who is much
The better souldier, hauing beene a *Tribune*,
*Prefect*, *Lieutenant*, *Praetor* in the warre,
These thirtie yeeres, so conuersant i' the armie,
As he knowes all the souldiers, by their names.
FLA. They'll fight then, brauely, with him. POM. I, and he
Will lead 'hem on, as brauely. CIC. They'haue a foe
Will aske their braueries, whose necessities
Will arme him like a furie. But, how euer,
I'le trust it to the manage, and the fortune
Of good PETREIVS, who's a worthy patriot:
METELLVS CELER, with three legions, too,
Will stop their course, for *Gallia*. How now, FABIVS?
SAN. The traine hath taken. You must instantly
Dispose your guards vpon the *Miluian* bridge:
For, by that way, they meane to come. CIC. Then, thither
POMTINIVS, and FLACCVS, I must pray you
To lead that force you haue; and seize them all:
Let not a person scape. Th'ambassadors
Will yeeld themselues. If there be any tumult
Ile send you aide. I, in meane time will call
LENTVLVS to me, GABINIVS, and CETHEGVS,
STATILIVS, CEPARIVS, and all these,
[746] By seuerall messengers: who no doubt will come,
Without sense, or suspicion. Prodigall men
Feele not their owne stocke wasting. When I haue 'hem,
Ile place those guards, vpon 'hem, that they start not.

789 in] into Q3. 799 *Enter* FABIUS SANGA. S. D.—G.
807 [*Exeunt* FLACCUS *and* POMTINIUS.] S. N.—G.

SAN. But what'll you doe with SEMPRONIA?
CIC. A states anger
Should not take knowledge eyther of fooles, or women.
I do not know whether my ioy or care
Ought to be greater; that I haue discouer'd
So foule a treason: or must vndergoe
The enuie of so many great mens fate.
But, happen what there can, I will be iust,
My fortune may forsake me, not my vertue:
That shall goe with me, and before me, still,
And glad me, doing well, though I heare ill.

PRAETORS, ALLOBROGES, VOLTVRTIVS.

FLA. Stand, who goes there? ALL. We are th'
ALLOBROGES
And friends of *Rome*. POM. If you be so, then yeeld
Your selues vnto the *Praetors*, who in name
Of the whole *Senate*, and the people of *Rome*,
Yet, till you cleare your selues, charge you of practise
Against the State. VOL. Die friends, and be not taken.
FLA. What voyce is that? Downe with 'hem all.
ALL. We yeeld.
POM. What's he stands out? Kill him there. VOL.
Hold, hold, hold.
I yeeld vpon conditions. FLA. We giue none
To traytors, strike him downe. VOL. My name's
VOLTVRTIVS
I know POMTINIVS. POM. But he knowes not you,
While you stand out vpon these trayterous termes.

814 a states anger] a state Q1, Q2. 823 [*Exeunt.* S. N.—G. SCENE VII. *The Milvian Bridge. Enter* FLACCUS *and* POMTINIUS, *with guards, on one side, and* VOLTURTIUS *with the* Allobrogian Ambassadors, *on the other.* S. D.—G. 824 ALL.] 1 *Amb.* G. 830 ALL.] 1 Amb. G.; ALL: F1, F2.

VOL. I'le yeeld vpon the safety of my life.
POM. If it be forfeyted, we cannot saue it.
VOL. Promise to doe your best. I'am not so guilty,
As many others, I can name; and will:
If you will grant me favour. POM. All we can
Is to deliuer you to the *Consul.* Take him,
And thanke the gods, that thus haue saued *Rome.*

CHORVS.

NOw, do our eares, before our eyes,
Like men in mists,
Discouer, who'ld the state surprise,
And who resists?
And, as these clouds doe yeeld to light,
Now, do we see,
Our thoughts of things, how they did fight,
Which seem'd t' agree?
[747] Of what strange pieces are we made,
Who nothing know;
But, as new ayres our eares inuade,
Still censure so?
That now doe hope, and noe doe feare,
And now enuy;
And then doe hate, and then loue deare,
But know not, why:
Or, if we doe, it is so late,
As our best mood,
Though true, is then thought out of date,
And emptie of good.
How haue we chang'd, and come about
In euery doome,

842 *Exeunt.*] S. N.—G. G divides Chorus in to 4—line stanzas.

Since wicked CATILINE went out,
And quitted *Rome*?
One while, we thought him innocent;
And, then w'accus'd
The *Consul*, for his malice spent;
And power abus'd.
Since, that we heare, he is in armes,
We thinke not so:
Yet charge the *Consul*, with our harmes,
That let him goe.
So, in our censure of the state,
We still doe wander;
And make the carefull magistrate
The marke of slander.
What age is this, where honest men,
Plac'd at the helme,
A sea of some foule mouth, or pen,
Shall ouer-whelme?
And call their diligence, deceipt;
Their vertue, vice;
Their watchfulnesse, but lying in wait;
And bloud, the price.
O, let vs plucke this euill seede
Out of our spirits;
And giue, to euery noble deede,
The name it merits.
Lest we seeme falne (if this endures)
Into those times,
To loue disease: and brooke the cures
Worse, then the crimes.

# ACT V.

## PETREIVS.

[748] *The armie.*

IT is my fortune, and my glorie, Souldiers,
This day, to lead you on; the worthy *Consul*
Kept from the honor of it, by disease:
And I am proud, to haue so braue a cause
To exercise your armes in. We not, now,
Fight for how long, how broad, how great, and large
Th'extent, and bounds o' th'people of *Rome* shall be;
But to retaine what our great ancestors,
With all their labours, counsells, arts, and actions,
For vs, were purchasing so many yeeres.
The quarrell is not, now, of fame, of tribute,
Or of wrongs, done vnto confederates,
For which, the armie of the people of *Rome*
Was wont to moue: but for your owne republique,
For the rais'd temples of th'immortall gods,
For all your fortunes, altars, and your fires,
For the deare soules of your lou'd wiues, and children,
Your parents tombes, your rites, lawes, libertie,
And, briefly, for the safety of the world:
Against such men, as onely by their crimes
Are knowne; thrust out by riot, want, or rashnesse.
One sort, SYLLA'S old troops, left here in *Fesulae*,
Who sodainely made rich, in those dire times,
Are since, by their vn-bounded, vast expence,
Growne needy, and poore: and haue but left t'expect,
From CATILINE, new bills, and new proscriptions.
These men (they say) are valiant; yet, I thinke 'hem

ACT V. SCENE I. *Etruria. The Country near Fesulae. Enter* PETREIUS, *marching, at the head of his Army.* S. D.—G. Marginal direction om. Q1, Q2. 16 Entire line missing in Q3.

Not worth your pause: For either their old vertue
Is, in their sloth, and pleasures lost; or, if
It tarry with 'hem, so ill match to yours,
As they are short in number, or in cause.
The second sort are of those (city-beasts,
Rather then citizens) who whilst they reach
After our fortunes, haue let flie their owne;
These, whelm'd in wine, swell'd vp with meates, and weakned
With hourely whoredomes, neuer left the side
Of CATILINE, in *Rome*; nor, here, are loos'd
From his embraces: such, as (trust me) neuer
In riding, or in vsing well their armes,
Watching, or other militarie labour,
Did exercise their youth; but learn'd to loue,
Drinke, dance, and sing, make feasts, and be fine gamsters: [749]
And these will wish more hurt to you, then they bring you.
The rest are a mixt kind, all sorts of furies,
Adulterers, dicers, fencers, out-lawes, theeues,
The murderers of their parents, all the sinke,
And plague of *Italie*, met in one torrent,
To take, to day, from vs the punishment,
Due to their mischiefes, for so many yeeres.
And who, in such a cause, and 'gainst such fiends,
Would not now wish himselfe all arme, and weapon?
To cut such poysons from the earth, and let
Their bloud out, to be drawne away in cloudes,
And pour'd, on some inhabitable place,
Where the hot sunne, and slime breeds nought but monsters?
Chiefly, when this sure ioy shall crowne our side,
That the least man, that falls vpon our partie
This day (as some must giue their happy names
To fate, and that eternall memorie

44 all] of all Q2.

Of the best death, writ with it, for their countrey)
Shall walke at pleasure, in the tents of rest;
And see farre off, beneath him, all their host
Tormented after life: and CATILINE, there,
Walking a wretched, and lesse ghost, then he.
Ile vrge no more: Moue forward, with your eagles,
And trust the *Senates*, and *Romes* cause to heauen.

ARM. To thee, great father MARS, and greater IOVE.

CAESAR, CRASSVS.

I Euer look'd for this of LENTVLVS,
When CATILINE was gone. CRA. I gaue 'hem lost,
Many dayes since. CAES. But, wherefore did you beare
Their letter to the *Consul*, that they sent you,
To warne you from the citie? CRA. Did I know
Whether he made it? It might come from him,
For ought I could assure me: if they meant,
I should be safe, among so many, they might
Haue come, as well as writ. CAES. There is no losse
In being secure. I haue, of late, too, ply'd him
Thicke, with intelligences, but they'haue beene
Of things he knew before. CRA. A little serues
To keepe a man vpright, on these state-bridges,
Although the passage were more dangerous.
Let vs now take the standing part. CAES. We must,
And be as zealous for't, as CATO. Yet
I would faine helpe these wretched men. CRA. You cannot.
Who would saue them, that haue betraid themselues?

67 ARM.] *Omnes.* G. [*Exeunt.* S. N.—G. SCENE II. *Rome. A street near the Temple of Concord. Enter* CAESAR *and* CRASSUS. S. D.—G. 85 [*Exeunt.* S. N.—G.

CICERO, QVINTVS, CATO.

I Will not be wrought to it, brother QVINTVS.
There's no mans priuate enmitie shall make
Me violate the dignitie of another.
If there were proofe 'gainst CAESAR, or who euer,
To speake him guiltie, I would so declare him.
But QVINTVS CATVLVS, and PISO both,
Shall know, the *Consul* will not, for their grudge,
Haue any man accus'd, or named falsly.
QVI. Not falsly: but if any circumstance,
By the ALLOBROGES, or from VOLTVRTIVS,
Would carry it. CIC. That shall not be sought by me.
If it reueale it selfe, I would not spare
You, brother, if it pointed at you, trust me.
CATO. Good MARCVS TVLLIVS (which is more, then great)
Thou had'st thy education, with the gods.
CIC. Send LENTVLVS forth, and bring away the rest. [750]
This office, I am sorry, sir, to doe you.

THE SENATE.

VVHat *may be happy still, and fortunate,*
*To Rome, and to this Senate*: Please you, *Fathers,*
To breake these letters, and to view them round.
If that be not found in them, which I feare,
I, yet, intreate, at such a time, as this,

SCENE III. Cicero's *House*. *Enter* CICERO, Q. CICERO, *and* CATO. S. D.—G. 99 Q2 closes line with *more* and opens next line with *Then*. 102 [*Exeunt*. S. N.—G. SCENE IV. *The Temple of Concord*. *Enter* Lictors, CICERO, (*with letters*,) CATO, Q. CICERO, CAESAR, CRASSUS, SYLLANUS, *and other Senators*. S. D.—G.

My diligence be not contemn'd. Ha' you brought
The weapons hither, from CETHEGVS house?
PRAE. They are without. CIC. Be readie, with
VOLTVRTIVS,
To bring him, when the *Senate* calls; and see
None of the rest, conferre together. *Fathers*,
What doe you reade? Is it yet worth your care,
If not your feare, what you find practis'd there?
CAES. It hath a face of horror! CRA. I'am amaz'd!
CATO. Looke there. SYL. Gods! Can such men draw comon aire?
CIC. Although the greatnesse of the mischiefe, *Fathers*,
Hath often made my faith small, in this *Senate*,
Yet, since my casting CATILINE out (for now
I doe not feare the enuy of the word,
Vnlesse the deed be rather to be fear'd,
That he went hence aliue; when those I meant
Should follow him, did not) I haue spent both dayes,
And nights, in watching, what their fury' and rage
[751] Was bent on, that so staid, against my thought:
And that I might but take 'hem in that light,
Where, when you met their treason, with your eyes,
Your minds, at length, would thinke for your owne safetie.
And, now, 'tis done. There are their hands, and seales.
Their persons, too, are safe, thankes to the gods.
Bring in VOLTVRTIVS, and the' ALLOBROGES.
These be the men, were trusted with their letters.

108 [*Gives the letters to the Senate.* S. N.—G. *Enter* (*the Prætors*) FLACCUS *and* POMTINIUS. S. D.—G. 112 [*Exeunt Prætors.*] S. N.—G. 125 staid] straid Q2. 131 *Reenter* Prætors, *with* VOLTURTIUS *and the* Allobrogian Ambassadors. S. D.—G.

VOL. *Fathers*, beleeue me, I knew nothing: I
Was trauailing for *Gallia*, and am sorry———
CIC. Quake not, VOLTVRTIVS, speake the truth, and hope
Well of this *Senate*, on the *Consuls* word.
VOL. Then, I knew all. But truely I was drawne in
But t'other day. CAES. Say, what thou know'st, and feare not.
Thou hast the *Senates* faith, and *Consuls* word,
To fortifie thee. VOL. I was sent with letters———
And had a message too———from LENTVLVS——— *He answeres with feare and interruption.*
To CATILINE———that he should vse all aides———
Seruants, or others——and come with his armie,
As soone, vnto the citie as he could———
For they were readie, and but staid for him———
To intercept those, that should flee the fire———
These men (the ALLOBROGES) did heare it too.
ALL. Yes, *Fathers*, and they tooke an oath, to vs.
Besides their letters, that we should be free;
And vrg'd vs, for some present aide of horse.
CIC. Nay, here be other testimonies, *Fathers*, *The weapons and armes are brought forth.*
CETHEGVS armourie. CRA. What, not all these?
CIC. Here's not the hundred part. Call in the Fencer,
That we may know the armes to all these weapons.
Come, my braue sword-player, to what active vse,
Was all this steele prouided? CET. Had you ask'd
In SYLLA'S dayes, it had beene to cut throats;
But, now, it was to looke on, only: I lou'd
To see good blades, and feele their edge, and points.

140 Marginal note om. Q1, Q2. [*Speaks with fears and interruptions.*] S. N.—G. 148 ALL.] 1 *Amb.* G. 151 Marginal note om. Q1, Q2. [*The weapons and arms are brought in.* S. N.—G. 156 *Enter* CETHEGUS, *guarded.* S. D.—G.

To put a helme vpon a blocke, and cleaue it,
And, now, and then, to stab an armour through.
CIC. Know you that paper? That will stab you through.
Is it your hand? Hold, saue the pieces. Traytor,
Hath thy guilt wak'd thy furie? CET. I did write,
I know not what; nor care not: That foole LENTVLVS
Did dictate, and I t'other foole, did signe it.
CIC. Bring in STATILIVS: Do's he know his hand too?
And LENTVLVS. Reach him that letter. STA. I
Confesse it all. CIC. Know you that seale yet, PVBLIVS?
LEN. Yes, it is mine. CIC. Whose image is that,
[752] on it?
LEN. My grand-fathers. CIC. What, that renowm'd good man,
That did so only' embrace his countrey', and lou'd
His fellow citizens! Was not his picture,
Though mute, of power to call thee from a fact,
So foule———LEN. As what, impetuous CICERO?
CIC. As thou art, for I doe not know what's fouler.
Looke vpon these. Doe not these faces argue
Thy guilt, and impudence? LEN. What are these to me?
I know 'hem not. ALL. No PVBLIVS? we were with you,
At BRVTVS house. VOL. Last night. LEN. What did you there?
Who sent for you? All. Your selfe did. We had letters

163 [*Cethegus tears the letters.*] S. N.—G. 168 *Enter* STATILIUS *and* P. LENTULUS, *guarded.* S. D.—G. 170 Whose image, etc.] Q2 omits and misprints last half of 171 in place. 177 [*Points to the Allobrogian Ambassadors.*] S. N.—G. 179 ALL.] 1 *Amb.* G. So also at 181.

From you, CETHEGVS', this STATILIVS here,
GABINIVS CIMBER, all, but from LONGINVS,
Who would not write, because he was to come
Shortly, in person, after vs (he said)
To take the charge o' the horse, which we should leuy.
CIC. And he is fled, to CATILINE, I heare.
LEN. Spies? spies? ALL. You told vs too, o' the SIBYLLS bookes,
And how you were to be a king, this yeere,
The twentieth, from the burning of the *Capitoll.*
That three CORNELII were to raigne, in *Rome,*
Of which you were the last: and prais'd CETHEGVS,
And the great spirits, were with you, in the action.
CET. These are your honorable Ambassadors,
My soueraigne lord. CAT. Peace, that too bold CETHEGVS.
ALL. Besides GABINIVS, your agent, nam'd
AVTRONIVS, SERVIVS SVLLA, VARGVNTEIVS,
And diuers others. VOL. I had letters from you,
To CATILINE, and a message, which I'haue told
Vnto the Senate, truely, word for word:
For which, I hope, they will be gracious to me.
I was drawne in, by that same wicked CIMBER,
And thought no hurt at all. CIC. VOLTVRTIVS, peace.
Where is thy visor, or thy voyce, now, LENTVLVS?
Art thou confounded? Wherefore speak'st thou not?
Is all so cleere, so plaine, so manifest,
That both thy eloquence, and impudence,
And thy ill nature, too, haue left thee, at once?
Take him aside. There's yet one more, GABINIVS,
The enginer of all. Shew him that paper,
If he doe know it? GAB. I know nothing. CIC. No?

188 ALL.] 1 *Amb.* G. 195 that] th'art Q2, W. 210 [*Gabinius Cimber is brought in.*] S. N.—G.

GAB. No. Nether will I know. CAT. Impudent head!
Sticke it into his throate; were I the *Consul*,
Il'd make thee eate the mischiefe, thou hast vented.
GAB. Is there a law for't, CATO? CAT. Do'st
[753] thou aske
After a law, that would'st haue broke all lawes,
Of nature, manhood, conscience, and religion?
GAB. Yes, I may aske for't. CAT. No, pernicious CIMBER.
Th'inquiring after good, do's not belong
Vnto a wicked person. GAB. I but CATO
Do's nothing, but by law. CAR. Take him aside.
There's proofe enough, though he confesse not. GAB. Stay,
I will confesse. All's true, your spies haue told you.
Make much of 'hem. CAT. Yes, and reward 'hem well,
For feare you get no more such. See, they doe not
Die in a ditch, and stinke, now you ha' done with 'hem;
Or beg, o' the bridges, here in *Rome*, whose arches
Their actiue industrie hath sau'd. CIC. See, *Fathers*,
What mindes, and spirits these are, that, being conuicted
Of such a treason, and by such a cloud
Of witnesses, dare yet retayne their boldnesse?
What would their rage haue done, if they had conquer'd?
I thought, when I had thrust out CATILINE,
Neither the state, not I, should need t'haue fear'd
LENTVLVS sleepe here, or LONGINVS fat,
Or this CETHEGVS rashnesse; it was he,
I onely watch'd, while he was in our walls,
As one, that had the braine, the hand, the heart.
But now, we find the contrary! Where was there
A people grieu'd, or a state discontent,
Able to make, or helpe a warre 'gainst *Rome*,

212 Neyther will I know] Nor I will not know Q1, Q2.

But these, th'ALLOBROGES, and those they found?
Whom had not the iust gods beene pleas'd to make
More friends vnto our safety, then their owne,
As it then seem'd, neglecting these mens offers,
Where had we beene? or where the common-wealth?
When their great Chiefe had beene call'd home? this man,
Their absolute king (whose noble grand-father,
Arm'd in pursuit of the seditious GRACCHVS,
Tooke a braue wound, for deare defence of that,
Which he would spoile) had gather'd all his aides
Of ruffians, slaues, and other slaughter-men?
Giuen vs vp for murder, to CETHEGVS?
The' other ranke of citizens, to GABINIVS?
The citie, to be fir'd by CASSIVS?
And *Italie*, nay the world, to be laid wast
By cursed CATILINE, and his complices?
Lay but the thought of it, before you, *Fathers*,
Thinke but with me you saw this glorious citie,
The light of all the earth, tower of all nations, [754]
Sodainely falling in one flame. Imagine,
You view'd your countrey buried with the heapes
Of slaughter'd citizens, that had no graue;
This LENTVLVS here, raigning, (as he dreamp't)
And those his purple *Senate*; CATILINE come
With his fierce armie; and the cryes of matrons,
The flight of children, and the rape of virgins,
Shriekes of the liuing, with the dying grones
On euery side t'inuade your sense; vntill
The bloud of *Rome*, were mixed with her ashes!
This was the spectacle these fiends intended
To please their malice. CET. I, and it would
Haue beene a braue one, *Consul*. But your part
Had not then beene so long, as now it is:
I should haue quite defeated your oration;
And slit that fine rhetoricall pipe of yours,

I'the first *scene*. CAT. Insolent monster! CIC. *Fathers*,
Is it your pleasures, they shall be committed
Vnto some safe, but a free custodie,
Vntill the *Senate* can determine farder?
SEN. It pleaseth well. CIC. Then, MARCVS CRASSVS,
Take you charge of GABINIVS: send him home
Vnto your house. You CAESAR, of STATILIVS.
CETHEGVS shall be sent to CORNIFICIVS;
And LENTVLVS, to PVBLIVS LENTVLVS SPINTHER,
Who now is *Aedile*. CAT. It were best, the *Praetors*
Carryed 'hem to their houses, and deliuered 'hem.
CIC. Let it be so. Take 'hem from hence. CAES. But, first,
Let LENTVLVS put off his *Praetor*-ship.
LEN. I doe resigne it here vnto the *Senate*.
CAES. So, now, there's no offence done to religion.
CAT. CAESAR, 'twas piously, and timely vrg'd.
CIC. What doe you decree to th'ALLOBROGES?
That were the lights to this discouery?
CRA. A free grant, from the state, of all their suites.
CAES. And a reward, out of the publike treasure.
CAT. I, and the title of honest men, to crowne 'hem.
CIC. What to VOLTVRTIVS? CAES. Life, and fauour's well.
VOL. I aske no more. CAT. Yes, yes, some money, thou need'st it.
'Twill keepe thee honest: want made thee a knaue.
SYL. Let FLACCVS, and POMTINIVS, the *Praetors*,
Haue publike thankes, and QVINTVS FABIVS SANGA,
For their good seruice. CRA. They deserue it all.

281 SEN.] *Omnes*. G. 288 first] om. Q2. 290 [*Exeunt Praetors and Guards, with Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius*. S. N.—G.

CAT. But what doe we decree vnto the *Consul*,
Whose vertue, counsell, watchfulnesse, and wisedome, [755]
Hath free'd the common-wealth, and without tumult,
Slaughter, or bloud, or scarce raysing a force,
Rescu'd vs all out of the iawes of fate?
CRA. We owe our liues vnto him, and our fortunes,
CAES. Our wiues, our children, parents, and our gods.
SYL. We all are saued, by his fortitude.
CATO. The common-wealth owes him a *ciuicke* gyrland.
He is the onely father of his countrey.
CAES. Let there be publike prayer, to all the gods,
Made in that name, for him. CRA. And in these words.
*For that he hath, by his vigilance, preseru'd*
Rome *from the flame, the* Senate *from the sword,*
*And all her citizens from massacre.*
CIC. How are my labours more then paid, graue *Fathers*,
In these great titles, and decreed honors!
Such, as to me, first, of the ciuill robe,
Of any man, since *Rome* was *Rome*, haue hap'ned;
And from this frequent *Senate*: which more glads me,
That I now see, yo' haue sense of your owne safety.
If those good dayes come no lesse gratefull to vs,
Wherein we are preseru'd from some great danger,
Then those, wherein w'are borne, and brought, to light,
Because the gladnesse of our safetie is certaine,
But the condition of our birth not so;
And that we are sau'd with pleasure, but are borne
Without the sense of ioy: why should not, then,
This day, to vs, and all posteritie
Of ours, be had in equall fame, and honor,
With that, when ROMVLVS first rear'd these walls,
When so much more is saued, then he built?

311 saued] sav'd Q2. 330 we are] w'are 1692.

CAES. It ought. CRA. Let it be added to our *Fasti.*

CIC. What tumult's that? FLA. Here's one TARQVINIVS taken,
Going to CATILINE; and sayes he was sent
By MARCVS CRASSVS: whom he names, to be
Guiltie of the conspiracy. CIC. Some lying varlet.
Take him away, to prison. CRA. Bring him in,
And let me see him. CIC. He is not worth it, CRASSVS.
Keepe him vp close, and hungrie, till he tell,
By whose pernicious counsell, he durst slander
So great, and good a citizen. (CRA. By yours
I feare, 'twill proue.) SYL. Some o' the traytors, sure,
To giue their action the more credit, bid him
Name you, or any man. CIC. I know my selfe,
By all the tracts, and the courses of this businesse,
[756] CRASSVS is noble, iust, and loues his countrey.
FLA. Here is a libell too, accusing CAESAR,
From LVCIVS VECTIVS, and confirm'd by CVRIVS.
CIC. Away with all, throw it out o' the court.
CAES. A tricke on me, too? CIC. It is some mens malice.
I said to CVRIVS, I did not beleeue him.
CAES. Was not that CVRIVS your spie, that had
Reward decreed vnto him, the last *Senate,*
With FVLVIA, vpon your priuate motion?
CIC. Yes. CAES. But, he has not that reward, yet? CIC. No.
Let not this trouble you, CAESAR, none beleeues it.
CAES. It shall not, if that he haue no reward.
But if he haue, sure I shall thinke my selfe
Very vntimely, and vnsafely honest,
Where such, as he is, may haue pay t'accuse me.

336 [*Noise without.* S. N.—G. 337 *Re-enter* FLACCUS. S. D.—G. 346 [*Aside.* S. N.—G.

CIC. You shall haue no wrong done you, noble
CAESAR,
But all contentment. CAES. *Consul*, I am silent.

CATILINE.

*The Armie.*

I Neuer yet knew, Souldiers, that, in fight,
Words added vertue vnto valiant men;
Or, that a generalls oration made
An armie fall, or stand: but how much prowesse
Habituall, or naturall each mans brest
Was owner of, so much in act it shew'd.
Whom neither glory' or danger can excite,
'Tis vaine t'attempt with speech: for the minds feare
Keepes all braue sounds from entring at that eare.
I, yet, would warne you some few things, my friends,
And giue you reason of my present counsailes.
You know, no lesse then I, what state, what point
Our affaires stand in; and you all haue heard,
What a calamitous misery the sloth,
And sleepinesse of LENTVLVS, hath pluck'd
Both on himselfe, and vs: how, whilst our aides
There, in the citie look'd for, are defeated,
Our entrance into *Gallia*, too, is stopt.
Two armies wait vs: one from *Rome*, the other
From the *Gaule-Prouinces*. And, where we are,
(Although I most desire it) the great want
Of corne, and victuall, forbids longer stay.
So that, of need, we must remoue, but whither
The sword must both direct, and cut the passage.
I onely, therefore, wish you, when you strike,

366 [*Exeunt.* S. N.—G. SCENE V. *The Country near Fesulæ. Enter* CATILINE *with his Army.* S. D.—G. 384 into] in Q2. 386 where] om. Q3.

To haue your valours, and your soules, about you;
[757] And thinke, you carrie in your labouring hands
The things you seeke, glorie, and libertie,
Your countrie, which you want now, with the *Fates*,
That are to be instructed, by our swords.
If we can giue the blow, all will be safe to vs.
We shall not want prouision, nor supplies.
The colonies, and free townes will lye open.
Where, if we yeeld to feare, expect no place,
Nor friend, to shelter those, whom their owne fortune,
And ill vs'd armes haue left without protection.
You might haue liu'd in seruitude, or exile,
Or safe at *Rome*, depending on the great ones;
But that you thought those things vnfit for men.
And, in that thought, you then were valiant.
For no man euer yet chang'd peace for warre,
But he, that meant to conquer. Hold that purpose.
There's more necessitie, you should be such,
In fighting for your selues, then they for others.
Hee's base, that trusts his feet, whose hands are arm'd.
Me thinkes, I see *Death*, and the *Furies*, waiting
What we will doe; and all the heauen' at leisure
For the great spectacle. Draw, then, your swords:
And, if our destinie enuie our vertue
The honor of the day, yet let vs care
To sell our selues, at such a price, as may
Vn-doe the world, to buy vs; and make *Fate*,
While shee tempts ours, feare her owne estate.

413 heauen'] heaven's Q3. 415 our . . . our] your . . . our. Q2.
419 feare] fear for W. [*Exeunt, marching.* S. N.—G.

## THE SENATE.

SEN. What meanes this hastie calling of the *Senate*?
SEN. We shall know straight. Wait, till the *Consul* speakes.
POM. *Fathers Conscript*, bethinke you of your safeties,
And what to doe, with these conspirators;
Some of thair clients, their free'd men, and slaues
'Ginne to make head: there is one of LENTVLVS bawds
Runnes vp and downe the shops, through euery street,
With money to corrupt, the poore artificers,
And needie tradesmen, to their aide. CETHEGVS
Hath sent, too, to his seruants; who are many,
Chosen, and exercis'd in bold attemptings,
That forth-with they should arme themselues, and proue
His rescue: All will be in instant vproare,
If you preuent it not, with present counsailes.
We haue done what we can, to meet the furie,
And will doe more. Be you good to your selues. [758]
CIC. What is your pleasure, *Fathers*, shall be done?
SYLLANVS, you are *Consul* next design'd.
Your sentence, of these men. SYL. 'Tis short, and this.
Since they haue sought to blot the name of *Rome*,
Out of the world; and raze this glorious empire
With her owne hands, and armes, turn'd on her selfe:
I thinke it fit they die. And, could my breath
Now, execute 'hem, they should not enioy
An article of time, or eye of light,
Longer, to poyson this our common ayre.
SEN. I thinke so too. SEN. And I. SEN. And I. SEN. And I.

SCENE VI. *Rome. The Temple of Jupiter Stator. Enter Lictors*, Prætors, (POMTINIUS *and* FLACCUS,) CICERO, SYLLANUS, CAESAR, CATO, CRASSUS, *and other* Senators. 420 SEN.] 1 *Sen.* G. 421 SEN.] 2 *Sen.* G. 427 poore] om. Q3. 446 G. assigns speeches, 1 *Sen.*, 2 *Sen.*, 3 *Sen.*, 4 *Sen.*

CIC. Your sentence, CAIVS CAESAR. CAES. *Conscript Fathers,*
In great affaires, and doubtfull, it behooues
Men, that are ask'd their sentence, to be free
From either hate, or loue, anger, or pittie:
For, where the least of these doe hinder, there
The mind not easily discernes the truth.
I speake this to you, in the name of *Rome,*
For whom you stand; and to the present cause:
That this foule fact of LENTVLVS, and the rest,
Weigh not more with you, then your dignitie;
And you be more indulgent to your passion,
Then to your honor. If there could be found
A paine, or punishment, equall to their crimes,
I would deuise, and helpe: but, if the greatnesse
Of what they ha' done, exceed all mans inuention,
I thinke it fit, to stay, where our lawes doe.
Poore pettie states may alter, vpon humour,
Where, if they' offend with anger, few doe know it,
Because they are obscure; their fame, and fortune
Is equall, and the same. But they, that are
Head of the world, and liue in that seene height,
All mankind knowes their actions. So wee see,
The greater fortune hath the lesser licence.
They must nor fauour, hate, and least be angrie:
For what with others is call'd anger, there,
Is crueltie, and pride. I know SYLLANVS,
Who spoke before me, a iust, valiant man,
A louer of the state, and one that would not,
In such a businesse, vse or grace, or hatred;
I know, too, well, his manners, and modestie:
Nor doe I thinke his sentence cruell (for

476 and modestie] and his modesty. Q1, Q2, W, G.

'Gainst such delinquents, what can be too bloudie ?)
But that it is abhorring from our state;
Since to a citizen of *Rome*, offending, [759]
Our lawes giue exile, and not death. Why then
Decrees he that ? 'Twere vaine to thinke, for feare;
When, by the diligence of so worthy a *Consul*,
All is made safe, and certaine. Is't for punishment ?
Why, death's the end of euills, and a rest,
Rather then torment: It dissolues all griefes.
And beyond that, is neither care, nor ioy.
You heare, my sentence would not haue 'hem die.
How then ? set free, and increase CATILINES armie ?
So will they, being but banish'd. No, graue *Fathers*,
I iudge 'hem, first, to haue their states confiscate,
Then, that their persons remaine prisoners
I' the free townes, farre off from *Rome*, and seuer'd:
Where they might neither haue relation,
Hereafter, to the *Senate*, or the people.
Or, if they had, those townes, then to be mulcted,
As enemies to the state, that had their guard.

SEN. 'Tis good, and honorable, CAESAR hath vtterd.

CIC. *Fathers*, I see your faces, and your eyes
All bent on me, to note of these two censures,
Which I incline to. Either of them are graue,
And answering the dignitie of the speakers,
The greatnesse of th'affaire, and both seuere.
One vrgeth death: and he may well remember
This state hath punish'd wicked citizens so.
The other bonds: and those perpetuall, which
He thinkes found out for the more singular plague.
Decree, which you shall please. You haue a *Consul*,
Not readier to obey, then to defend,

488 heare] here Q3. 498 SEN.] *Omnes.* G.

What euer you shall act, for the republique;
And meet with willing shoulders any burden,
Or any fortune, with an euen face,
Though it were death: which to a valiant man
Can neuer happen foule, nor to a *Consul*
Be immature, or to a wise man wretched.
SYL. *Fathers*, I spake, but as I thought: the needes
O'th'common-wealth requir'd. CAT. Excuse it not.
CIC. CATO, speake you your sentence. CAT. This it is.
You here dispute, on kinds of punishment,
And stand consulting, what you should decree
'Gainst those, of whom, you rather should beware,
This mischiefe is not like those common facts,
Which, when they are done, the lawes may prosequute.
But this, if you prouide not, ere it happen,
When it is happen'd, will not wait your iudgement.
Good CAIVS CAESAR, here, hath very well,
And subtilly discours'd of life, and death,
As if he thought those things, a prettie fable,
[760] That are deliuer'd vs of hell, and furies,
Or of the diuers way, that ill men goe
From good, to filthy, darke, and vgly places.
And therefore, he would haue these liue; and long too;
But farre from *Rome*, and in the small free townes,
Left, here, they might haue rescue: As if men,
Fit for such acts, were only in the citie,
And not throughout all *Italie*? or, that boldnesse
Could not doe more, where it found least resistance?
'Tis a vaine counsaile, if he thinke them dangerous.
Which, if he doe not, but that he alone,
In so great feare of all men, stand vn-frighted,
Me giues me cause, and you, more to feare him.

539 way,] ways G. 541 you,] you too, 1716, W, G.

I am plaine, *Fathers*. Here you looke about,
One at another, doubting what to doe;
With faces, as you trusted to the gods,
That still haue sau'd you; and they can do't: But,
They are not wishings, or base womanish prayers,
Can draw their aides; but vigilance, counsell, action:
Which they will be ashamed to forsake.
'Tis sloth they hate, and cowardise. Here, you haue
The traytors in your houses, yet, you stand,
Fearing what to doe with 'hem; Let 'hem loose,
And send 'hem hence with armes, too; that your mercie
May turne your miserie, as soone as 't can.
O, but, they, are great men, and haue offended,
But, through ambition. We would spare their honor:
I, if themselues had spar'd it, or their fame,
Or modestie, or either god, or man:
Then I would spare 'hem. But, as things now stand,
*Fathers*, to spare these men, were to commit
A greater wickednesse, then you would reuenge:
If there had beene but time, and place, for you,
To haue repair'd this fault, you should haue made it;
It should haue beene your punishment, to' haue felt
Your tardie error: but necessitie,
Now, bids me say, let 'hem not liue an houre,
If you meane *Rome* should liue a day. I haue done.

SEN. CATO hath spoken like an oracle.

CRA. Let it be so decreed. SEN. We are all fearefull.

SYL. And had beene base, had not his vertue reis'd vs.

SEN. Goe forth, most worthy *Consul*, wee'll assist you. [761]

CAES. I'am not yet chang'd in my sentence, *Fathers*,

566 I haue] I've 1716, W. 667 SEN.] *Omnes* G.
568 we are all] we all were Q1, Q2, W, G.

CAT. No matter. What be those? SER. Letters, for CAESAR.

CAT. From whom? let 'hem be read, in open *Senate*; *Fathers*, they come from the conspirators.
I craue haue 'hem read, for the republique.

CAES. CATO, reade you it. 'Tis a loue-letter,
From your deare sister, to me: though you hate me,
Doe not discouer it. CAT. Hold thee, drunkard. *Consul*,
Goe forth, and confidently. CAES. You'll repent
This rashnesse, CICERO. PRAE. CAESAR shall repent it.

CIC. Hold friends. PRAE. Hee's scarce a friend vnto the publike.

CIC. No violence. CAESAR, be safe. Leade on:
Where are the publike executioners?
Bid 'hem wait on vs. On, to SPINTHERS house.
Bring LENTVLVS forth. Here, you, the sad reuengers
Of capitall crimes, against the publike, take
This man vnto your iustice: strangle him.

LEN. Thou do'st well, *Consul*. 'Twas a cast at dice,
In FORTVNES hand, not long since, that thy selfe
Should'st haue heard these, or other words as fatall.

CIC. Leade on, to QVINTVS CORNIFICIVS house.
Bring forth CETHEGVS. Take him to the due
Death, that he hath deseru'd: and let it be
Said, He was once. CET. A beast, or, what is worse,
A slaue, CETHEGVS. Let that be the name

572 *Enter a Messenger with letters.* S. D.—G. SER.] SEN. 1640, 1692, 1716, W; 1 *Sen.* G. 577 me,] me. F1, F2. 578 [*Aside to Cato.* S. N.—G. *Consul,*] *Consul.* F1, F2. 580 [*The Prætors attempt to seize him.* S. N.—G. 582 [*They all rise.*] S. N.—G. 585 [*He is brought out.*] S. N.—G. 590 [*Exit Len. guarded.* S. N.—G. 592 [*He is brought out.*] S. N.—G.

For all that's base, hereafter: That would let
This worme pronounce on him; and not haue trampled
His body into———Ha! Art thou not mou'd?
CIC. Iustice is neuer angrie: Take him hence.
CET. O, the whore FORTVNE! and her bawds the *Fates*!
That put these tricks on men, which knew the way
To death by' a sword, Strangle me, I may sleepe:
I shall grow angrie with the gods, else. CIC. Leade
To CAIVS CAESAR, for STATILIVS.
Bring him, and rude GABINIVS, out. Here, take 'hem
To your cold hands, and let 'hem feele death from you.
GAB. I thanke you, you doe me a pleasure. STA. And me too.
CAT. So, MARCVS TVLLIVS, thou maist now stand vp,
And call it happy *Rome*, thou being *Consul*.
Great parent of thy countrie, goe, and let
The old men of the citie, ere they die,
Kisse thee; the matrons dwell about thy necke;
The youths, and maides lay vp, 'gainst they are old,
What kind of man thou wert, to tell their nephewes,
When, such a yeere, they reade, within our *Fasti*,
Thy *Consul*-ship. Who's this? PETREIVS? CIC. Welcome,
Welcome, renowned souldier. What's the newes?
This face can bring no ill with't, vnto *Rome*.
How do's the worthy *Consul*, my colleague?
PET. As well as victorie can make him, sir.
He greets the *Fathers*, and to me hath trusted
The sad relation of the ciuill strife;
For, in such warre, the conquest still is black.

603 [*Exit, guarded.* S. N.—G. 605 [*They are brought out.*] S. N.—G. 607 [*Exe. Gab. and Stat. guarded.* S. N.—G. 616 *Enter* PETREIUS. S. D.—G.

CIC. Shall we with-draw into the house of *Concord*?
CAT. No, happy *Consul*, here; let all eares take
The benefit of this tale. If he had voyce,
To spread vnto the poles, and strike it through
The center, to the *Antipodes*; It would aske it.
[762] PET. The streights, and needs of CATILINE being such,
As he must fight with one of the two armies,
That then had neere enclos'd him; It pleas'd *Fate*,
To make vs th'obiect of his desperate choise,
Wherein the danger almost paiz'd the honor:
And as he riss', the day grew black with him;
And *Fate* descended neerer to the earth,
As if shee meant, to hide the name of things,
Vnder her wings, and make the world her quarrie.
At this we rous'd, lest one small minutes stay
Had left it to be' enquir'd, what *Rome* was.
And (as we ought) arm'd in the confidence
Of our great cause, in forme of battaile, stood.
Whilst CATILINE came on, not with the face
Of any man, but of a publique ruine:
His count'nance was a ciuill warre it selfe.
And all his host had standing in their lookes,
The palenesse of the death, that was to come.
Yet cryed they out like vultures, and vrg'd on,
As if they would precipitate our fates.
Nor staid we longer for 'hem; But himselfe
Strooke the first stroke: And, with it, fled a life.
Which cut, it seem'd, a narrow necke of land,
Had broke betweene two mightie seas; and either
Flow'd into other; for so did the slaughter:
And whirl'd about, as when two violent tides

633 paiz'd] poiz'd 1640, 1692, Q3, 1716, W, G. 634 riss' rise, 1716; rose W, G; ris'd Q2.

Meet, and not yeeld. The *Furies* stood, on hills,
Circling the place, and trembled to see men
Doe more, then they: whilst pietie left the field,
Grieu'd for that side, that, in so bad a cause,
They knew not, what a crime their valour was.
The sunne stood still, and was, behind the cloud [763]
The battaile made, seene sweating, to driue vp
His frighted horse, whom still the noyse droue backward.
And now had fierce ENYO, like a flame,
Consum'd all it could reach, and then it selfe;
Had not the fortune of the common-wealth
Come PALLAS-like, to euery *Roman* thought.
Which CATILINE seeing, and that now his troops
Couer'd that earth, they had fought on, with their trunkes,
Ambitious of great fame, to crowne his ill,
Collected all his furie, and ran in
(Arm'd with a glorie, high as his despaire)
Into our battaile, like a *Lybian* lyon,
Vpon his hunters, scornefull of our weapons,
Carelesse of wounds, plucking downe liues about him,
Till he had circled in himselfe with death:
Then fell he too, t'embrace it where it lay.
And as, in that rebellion 'gainst the gods,
MINERVA holding forth MEDVSA'S head,
One of the gyant brethern felt himselfe
Grow marble at the killing sight, and now,
Almost made stone, began t'inquire, what flint,
What rocke it was, that crept through all his limmes,
And, ere he could thinke more, was that he fear'd;
So CATILINE, at the sight of *Rome* in vs,
Became his tombe: yet did his looke retayne
Some of his fiercenesse, and his hands still mou'd,
As if he labour'd, yet, to graspe the state,
With those rebellious parts. CAT. A braue had death.

Had this beene honest now, and for his countrey,
As 'twas against it, who had ere fallen greater?
CIC. Honor'd PETREIVS, *Rome*, not I, must thanke you.
How modestly has he spoken of himselfe!
CAT. He did the more. CIC. Thanks to the immortall gods,
*Romans*, I now am paid for all my labours,
My watchings, and my dangers. Here conclude
Your praises, triumphs, honors, and rewards,
Decreed to me: only the memorie
Of this glad day, if I may know it liue
Within your thoughts, shall much affect my conscience,
Which I must alwayes studie before fame.
Though both be good, the latter yet is worst,
And euer is ill got, without the first.

## THE END.

[*Exeunt.* S. N.—G.

THIS Tragœdie was first
Acted, in the yeere
1611.

*By the* KINGS *Maiesties*
*SERVANTS.*

## The principall Tragœdians were,

| | |
|---|---|
| RIC. BVRBADGE. | IOH. HEMINGS. |
| ALEX. COOKE. | HEN. CONDEL. |
| IOH. LOWIN. | IOH. VNDERWOOD. |
| WIL. OSTLER. | NIC. TOOLY. |
| RIC. ROBINSON. | WIL. EGLESTONE. |

*With the allowance of the Master of* REVELLS.

The names of the players as here given are placed at the beginning of the play in 1640. They are not found in Q1.

# NOTES

References to the text of *Catiline* are to act and line of this edition. Other references to Jonson are to the Gifford-Cunningham edition, by play, volume, and page. References to Shakspere are to the Globe edition, act, scene, and line. Abbreviations need no explanation beyond that furnished by the Bibliography. The material for notes signed W. is from Whalley; G., from Gifford; C., from Cunningham. Quotation-marks have usually been omitted in signed notes, as the wording is very frequently altered. For material found in notes on 1. 143, 2. 189—190, 2. 248—265, 3. 64, and 5. 214, and for part of that found in the note on 1. 247—250, I am indepted to Professor Bright, editor of *Modern Language Notes*, who kindly supplied me with the proof-sheets, before publication, of Professor Briggs' article, *Source Material for Jonson's Plays*, while my book was going through the press.

## TITLE-PAGE

**Tragoedie.** Jonson preferred the Latin spellings. *Sejanus* has the same form in the sub-caption. *Epicoene* has the Latin form 'Comoedie' in its sub-title, and so uniformly.

**K. MAIESTIES SERVANTS.** This was Shakspere's company. For full particulars of this company, see Fleay, *Stage* 82 ff., 133 ff., 188 ff.; and Collier, *Stage* 1. 287 ff., 334.

**His non plebecula gaudet,** etc. Horace, *Epist.* 2. 1. 186 ff.

**William Stansby.** Stansby started in business as a bookseller. He began printing in 1609, and from then until 1638 he printed 154 books. Among the important works from his press were *Certayne Masques at the Court never yet printed*, by Jonson, January 20, 1614—15; the 1620 quarto of *Epicoene*; the 1635 quarto of *Hamlet*; and the second quarto of *Love's Labour's Lost.*

## DEDICATION

**William, Earl of Pembroke.** William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, was born in 1580 and died in 1630. He was Lord Chamberlain from 1615 to 1625, Lord Steward from 1626 to 1630, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1624. In the latter year Broadgates Hall was refounded in his honor as Pembroke College. By some critics he has been identified with the 'Mr. W. H.' of the Shakspere sonnets, but the evidence is doubtful. He was made a Knight of the Garter in the first year of James I. To him Jonson also dedicated his *Epigrams*.

5. **Iig-giuen times.** The *jig* was a common conclusion to theatrical performances, usually being performed by the clowns and fools of the play just finished, and lasting about an hour. Probably it was a ludicrous composition in rhyme, sung or recited by the clown, accompanied by dancing and music on the pipe and tabor (see Collier, *Stage* 3. 182 ff.).

6. **Against all noise of opinion.** Jonson's impatient contempt for popular judgment is expressed more than once in his works. In a passage in *Timber*, 'Censura de poetis', (*Wks.* 9. 153) *q. v.*, he vigorously presents his views.

9. **The first** (of this race). That is, tragedy. *Sejanus*, 1605, was without dedication. W.

## ACT I

**SYLLA'S ghost.** Several classic tragedies open with the appearance of a ghost — as, for example, the *Hecuba* of Euripides with the spectre of Polydorus — but the opening here is imitated particularly from Seneca's *Thyestes* and *Agamemmnon*. In both, a spirit rises from Hades on the eve of a fearful crime, and one inspired in some measure by his own, to foreshadow the coming horrors. In *Thyestes*, it is the shade of Tantalus,[1] whose crime, terrible as it was, is exceeded by that of Atreus. In *Agamemnon*, it is the shade of Thyestes, whose son by an incestuous marriage, Ægisthus,

[1] See note on 4. 353.

murders Agamemnon. Jonson's choice of Sylla's ghost here was probably influenced by a bit from Lucan, *Phars.* 1. 580–81:

> Et medio visi consurgere Campo
> Tristia Sullani cecinere oracula manes.

Catiline had been an ardent supporter of Sulla, and Sallust, in sections 5, 11–13 of his *Catiline*, implies that it was largely the successes of the dictator that inspired him. Cf. 'Hunc post dominationem Lucii Sullæ lubido maxima invaserat reipublicæ capiendæ, neque id quibus modis assequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat' (Sallust, *Catiline* 5).

Sulla was the leading character in the civil war, culminating in the terrible proscriptions of 81 B. C. Although Sulla possessed many admirable qualities, and was in some respects a thoughtful statesman, his name has always been a synonym for cruelty, because of the unbridled ferocity of his vengeance in the proscriptions. For a full account of his career, see Dio Cassius 36. 44, 37. 25; Suetonius, *Caesar* 9; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 2. 76.

4, 5. The sense is, 'and be less portentous than an earthquake of the destruction of thee and thine.' For *threaten* in this sense, cf. *Winter's Tale* 3. 3. 4:

> The skies look grimly,
> And threaten present blusters.

11. **Behold I Come.**[1] Cf. Seneca, *Thy.* 87–89:

> Mittor ut dirus vapor
> Tellure rupta, vel gravem populis luem
> Sparsura pestis.

21. **GRACCHI, CINNA, MARIVS.**

The selection by Jonson here of the Gracchi as types of the vengeful and destructive revolutionists is rather unhappy. Although revolutionary in their methods, they were in purpose ardent reformers. Both were killed in disturbances. Cinna

[1] In *Anglia* 35. 299, Briggs states that this passage is from *Agamemnon* (!).

was consul in 87 B.C. While Sulla was absent from Rome, he joined Marius in his horrible vengeance on the aristocratic party. Marius was a leader of the democratic or popular party of Rome. His rivalry with Sulla caused the first civil war in 88. In that year he was driven from Rome, but returned in 87, during Sulla's absence. His capture of Rome and subsequent administration of the government were marked by horrible cruelties.

24. **And HANNIBAL could not haue wish'd to see.** Cf. 'Et quidquid nec Hannibal videretur optasse' (Florus, *Epit.* 4. 1).

27. **Thy former facts.** In the 16th and 17th centuries the commonest sense of fact was 'an evil deed, a crime.' Cf. *All's Well* 3. 7. 47: 'Where both not sin, and yet a sinful fact.' Cf. also the legal phrase still in use, 'accessory before (or after) the fact.' So also in 1. 41 (see *Glossary*).

29. **Conscience of them prouoke thee on to more.** Cf. 'Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum' (Sallust, *Cat.* 5). See *Glossary*.

31. **Thy forcing first a Vestall nunne.** Sallust gives us this information in *Cat.* 15. This priestess of Vesta was Fabia Terentia, sister to Terentia, Cicero's wife. She was accused by Clodius, but being powerfully defended by Catulus and others of influence, was acquitted. The penalty for violation of the vestal vows was death.

32. **Thy parricide late on thine owne onely sonne.** Sallust states it as the common belief that Catiline put his son to death because Aurelia Orestilla dreaded having a grown-up stepson (see *Cat.* 15).

33. **To make emptie way.** Cf. 'Cum morte superioris uxoris, novis nuptiis domum vacuam fecisses' (Cicero, 1 *Cat.* 6).

36. **Which got thee, at once, a daughter and a wife.** In a fragment of Cicero (*In Toga Candida*), occurs this passage: 'Cum deprehendebare in adulteriis, cum deprehendebas adulteros ipse, cum ex eodem stupro tibi et uxorem et filiam invenisti.' On this passage Asconius Pedianus thus comments:

'Dicitur Catilina adulterium commisse cum ea, quæ ei postea socrus fuit, et ex eo natum stupro duxisse uorem, cum filia eius esset. Hoc Lucceius quoque Catilinæ obicit in orationibus quas in eum scripsit. Nomina harum mulierum nondum inveni.' Plutarch, too (*Life of Cicero* 10), says that Catiline was accused of debauching his own daughter.

37. **I leaue the slaughters that thou didst for me.** Q. Cicero (*De Pet. Con.* 2. 9.) accuses Catiline of murders done in Sulla's cause. Plutarch, in *Sulla* 32, mentions especially one M. Marius, whom Catiline slew with his own hands, bearing the head to Sulla. In return for this, Sulla entered Catiline's brother among the proscribed (see note to 40). Asconius Pedianus, in his comment on Cicero's lost *In Toga Candida*, quotes Cicero as accusing Catiline of four specific murders.

40. **And writ him in the list of my proscrib'd.** See note on 37, *supra*. Plutarch, *Cic.* 10, also furnishes this information. By having his brother's name placed on the proscription-lists, Catiline could readily make it appear, in those troublous times, as if the death had occured in the due course of events, without foul play.

42. **Thy incest.** So Q. Cicero (*De Pet. Cons.* 2. 9): 'educatus in sororis stupris.'

47. **Defeated once.** Sallust (*Cat.* 18) states that Catiline was on trial at one time for extortion, and by reason of this was unable to declare himself a candidate, as had been his intention, for the consulship within the legitimate number of days. Following this, he conspired with Cneius Piso and Autronius to assassinate the consuls, L. Cotta and L. Torquatus, in the Capitol, on the first of January; then, when they had seized the fasces, Piso was to be sent with an army to occupy Spain. The design was discovered, and postponed until February; when the murder of most of the senate was to be added to the original program. Catiline, however, gave the signal to his associates too hastily, and the plot was frustrated. See also Cicero, 1 *Cat.* 6.

55–63. **Nor let thy thought,** &c. Cf. Seneca, *Thyestes*: 29–32, 48–9, 51.

Nec vacet cuiquam vetus
Odisse crimen; semper oriatur novum;
Nec unum in uno; dumque punitur scelus
Crescat. . . . . .
Jusque omne pereat, non sit a vestris malis
Immune cœlum. . . . . .
Nox atra fiat, excidat cœlo dies.

76. **I.** The old affirmative. W. mistook it for the pronoun, and printed *I'd*. Cf. *Catiline* 2. 100.

79. **The ills, that I haue done, cannot be safe.** Cf. Seneca, *Agamemnon* 116: 'Per scelera semper sceleribus tutum est iter.'

81. **A spirit within me,** etc. We have here a fulfilment already of the wish of Sulla's ghost, as expressed in lines 27–30 above.

83. **Was I a man, bred great, as Rome her selfe?** 'L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et animi et corporis' (Sallust, *Cat.* 5).

92 ff. **I can loose My pietie, and in her stony entrailes Dig me a seate.** Cf. Luc., *Phars.* 1. 2–3:

Canimus, populumque potentem
In sua victrici conversum viscera dextra.

93. **Pietie.** The Latin *pietas* means 'filial affection.' (cf. the phrase *pius Æneas*), or 'patriotism.' These meanings are included in its sense here.

97. **Since she first knew MARS.** Mars was the father, by the vestal Ilia (Rhea Silvia), of Romulus and Remus (Livy 1. 3 ff.).

**AVRELIA.** Of Aurelia Orestilla, Sallust says (*Cat.* 15) 'Cuius præter formam nihil umquam bonus laudavit.' She was probably the sister or daughter of Cneius Aurelius Orestis, who had been prætor.

115–118. Cf. these lines with 32–35 above.

119. **"He that, building,"** &c. Quotation-marks are used by Jonson to call attention to a peculiarly expressive thought or aphorism. Actual quotations, when acknowledged, he puts in italics.

124. **Came with thy wealth.** 'Cum alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillæ, suis filiæque copiis, persolveret' (Sallust, *Cat.* 35).

127. **Which, now, shall hit the starres.** Cf. Horace, *Od.* 1. 1. 36: 'Sublimi feriam sidera vertice.'

131. **I haue to doe.** Catiline's skill in being all things to all men is treated at length in Cicero, *Pro Cælio* 6. 13.

135. **And a vaine dreame, out of the SYBILL'S bookes.** This prophecy of the three Cornelii is mentioned in Sallust, *Cat.* 47; Plutarch, *Cic.* 17; and Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 4. Plutarch says the verses were forged.

The Sibyl here referred to is the Cumæan, the only Roman Sibyl. For the story of the Sibylline books, see Dionysius, *Antiq. Rom.* 4. 62. The books were kept in the Capitol. In B. C. 83 the Capitol burned, and the senate made a new collection of Sibylline utterances by sending envoys to various places, and making local additions. These were kept in the new Capitol (Tacitus, *Ann.* 6. 12).

139. **Avgvres.** At this time there were two priestly colleges, the pontiffs and augurs, each of fifteen members (*quindecemviri*). The augurs prepared the place for the taking of the auspices and auguries, and assisted in the interpretation. They alone had the right to read and interpret the Sibylline books.

143. **Goe on vpon the gods,** etc. Cf. Seneca, *Medea* 424—25:

Invadam deos,
Et cuncta quatiam.

144. **The engine from the CYCLOP'S.** The engine referred to is the thunderbolt. The Cyclops alone could forge these, but were under promise to supply them only to Jove. See Hesiod, *Theog.* 139 ff., 624 ff.

147. **Enuy.** For *envy* in this sense of ill-will or hatred, cf. *The Devil is on Ass* (*Wks.* 5. 61):

> And, I am justly pay'd,
> What might have made my profit of his service,
> But by mistaking, have drawn on his envy.

Also, *Catiline* 3. 2, 54, 59, 553.

153. **Others, whom meere ambition fires,** etc. Cf. Cicero, 2 *Cat.* 9: 'Alterum genus est eorum qui, quamquam premuntur ære alieno, dominationem tamen exspectant, rerum potiri volunt, honores, quos quieta republica desperant, perturbata se consequi posse arbitrantur.'

155. **To their crude hopes.** Rude, ill-digested hopes. Cf. Dedication: 'Against all noise of opinion: from whose crude, and ayrie reports, I appeale,' etc.

157. **Th' idle Captaynes.** 'Non nullos ex Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant' (Sallust, *Cat.* 28).

159. **The profuse waters of their patrimonies.** 'Nam quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, manu, bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum æs grande conflaverat' (Sallust, *Cat.* 14). The rest of this speech, to 180, is taken from the same source, being in part a direct translation.

172. **As I haue boyes.** The limits to which the profligacy of the period went are almost unimaginable. Cicero in 2 *Phil.* 18 accuses Antony of this same unnatural crime. See also Juvenal, *Sat.* 2.

177. **Community.** Defined (*N.E.D.*) as 'social intercourse, fellowship, communion'; but it is evidently here tinged strongly with the idea of licentiousness, as conveyed in *freedome* and the lines immediately preceding.

181. **Like one of Ivno's or of Iove's disguises.** The gods, in the pursuance of their numerous amours, had recourse to many disguises. Take, for instance, the case of Danaë. See note on 2. 182.

185. **Or the scene shifted in our theaters.** The Roman theater used a fixed stage-setting, and observed the unity of place; so the use of *scene* here is an anachronism, whether it be taken to mean change of scenery or of the location of the action. However, Jonson's meaning here is probably satirical. As scenic effects were at this time very crude—indeed, scarcely existed at all—the reference is undoubtedly not to them, but rather to the ease with which the romantic dramatists shifted their scene of action, often as many as half a dozen times in a single act (cf. *Macbeth,* Act 1). Alread

in the prologue to *Every Man In* (*Wks.* 1. 4), he had ridiculed the tax on the imagination by just such devices.

**LENTVLVS.** Publius Lentulus Sura had been consul in 71 B. C., but had been expelled from the Senate by the censors for profligacy. At this time he was standing for prætor, so as to regain his senatorial seat, the election to that office being a necessary qualification. See Plutarch, *Cic.* 17.

**CETHEGVS.** Caius Cethegus, like Lentulus, was of the Cornelian *gens*. Cicero (3 *Cat.* 7) and Sallust both describe him as rash and fiery.

191—197. Perhaps suggested by Lucan, *Phars.*, 1. 233—36:

> Iamque dies primos belli visura tumultus
> Exoritur. Seu sponte deum, seu turbidus Auster
> Impulerat, mæstam tenuerunt nubila lucem.

194. **Rosy-finger'd.** The stock Homeric epithet.

198. **A haile.** The customary salutation of Romans on morning visits to their patrons was *ave*, 'hail!'

205. **Vertue.** Both here and elsewhere, this word is strongly tinged by the sense of the Latin *virtus*, 'manly qualities,' 'courage.'

211. **Mere dormice.** The dormouse is, with Jonson, a synonym for drowsy inactvity. Cf. *Cyn. Rev.* 3. 2 (*Wks.* 2. 260): 'Let him go, dormouse: he is in a dream now'; and *New Inn* 1. 1 (*Wks.* 5. 324): 'I was the laziest creature, . . . and slept away my life beyond the dormouse.'

217. **I muse they would be tardy.** 'I marvel that they should be tardy.' For *muse* in this sense, see *Alchem.* (*Wks.* 4. 117): 'I muse, my lord, your brother will permit it.'

226. **The degenerate, talking gowne.** Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 1. 365: 'Degenerem patiere togam.'

231. **When the free sword took leaue.** Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 2. 101:

> Lateque vagatur
> Ensis: et a nullo revocatum est pectore ferrum.

232. **Sonnes kild fathers.** Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 2. 149:

> Nati maduere paterno
> Sanguine.

233. **Brothers their brothers.** Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 2. 151: 'In fratrum ceciderunt præmia fratres.'

234. **All hate had licence giuen it: all rage raines.** Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 2. 145:

> Tum data libertas odiis, resolutaque legum
> Frenis ira ruit.

239. **No age was spar'd.** Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 2. 104: 'Nulli sua profuit ætas.' *No degree*: 'Nobilitas cum plebe perit' (*ibid.* 101).

240. **Not infants, in the porch of life were free.**

> Nec primo in limine vitæ
> Infantis miseri mascentia rumpere
> fata (*ibid.* 106).

241. **The sick, the old:**

> Non senis extremum piguit vergentibus annis
> Præcipitasse diem (*ibid.* 105).

244. **'Twas crime enough, that they had lives:** 'Sed satis est jam posse mori' (*ibid.* 109).

245, 246. Cf.

> Et visum est lenti quæsisse nocentem.
> In numerum pars magna perit (*ibid.* 110, 111).

247. **Prey.** The meaning here is booty. Cf. 2. *Hen. VI* 4. 4. 51: 'The rascal people, thirsting after prey.'

247–250. Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 3, 16:

> Præparat innumeras puppes Acherontis adusti
> Portitor.

250–254. Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 2. 152, 153.

> Busta repleta fuga, permi taque viva sepultis
> Corpora; nec populum latebræ cepere ferarum.

Jonson has reversed the order of the lines. Cf. also Petronius, Sat. 121. 117–20:

Vix navita Porthmeus
Sufficiet simulacra virum traducere cumba;
Classe opus est.

Likewise Seneca, *Oedipus* 166ff.:

Quique capaci turbida cumba
Flumina servat durus senio
Navita crudo, vix assiduo
Bracchia conto lassata refert,
Fessus turbam vectare novam.

278–82. Lucan, *Phars.* 1. 556–57, has the following:

Indigetes flevisse deos urbisque laborem
Testatos sudore Lares.

Cf. also Virgil, *Geor.* 1. 480: 'Et mæstum illacrymat templis ebur, æraque sudant'; and Ovid, *Met.* 15. 792: 'Mille locis lacrymavit ebur.' See Cook, *Notes on Milton's 'Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity,'* New Haven, 1909.

**AVTRONIVS.** Publius Autronius had been a companion of Cicero in his boyhood, and his colleague in the quæstorship. The year following the conspiracy he was banished, under the Plautian law, together with Longinus, Lecca, and Vargunteius.

**VARGVNTEIVS.** Little is known of Lucius Vargunteius, except that at one time he had been accused of bribery, and defended by Hortensius (see Cicero, *Pro. P. Sulla* 2).

**LONGINVS.** Lucius Cassius Longinus had been a competitor with Cicero for the consulship (Asconius Pededianus, *In Tog. Can.*). His corpulence was proverbial.

**CVRIVS.** Quintus Curius, like Lentulus, had been removed from the senate for profligacy. He was a descendant of M. Curius Dentatus, the opponent of Pyrrhus (see Sallust, *Cat.* 23).

**LECCA.** Marcus Parcius Lecca was of the same *gens* as the Catos, but of a different family. He was exiled after the conspiracy.

**BESTIA.** Lucius Bestia was of the Calpurnian *gens*. He escaped death on the discovery of the conspiracy, and was later elected ædile. He also stood for the prætorship, but was exiled for bribery. Cæsar recalled him, and he stood for the consulship, but without success.

**FVLVIVS. GABINIVS.** Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Publius Gabinius Capito were *equites*, the conspirators previously named being of senatorial rank. Gabinius met his death at the end of the conspiracy; Fulvius was exiled.

297. **Are your eyes yet vnseel'd?** The term is one taken from falconry. A hawk's eyes were 'seeled' by passing a thread through the lids, and tying it behind the head. To 'unseel' the eyes was to remove the stitches.

298. **Dull.** C.'s definition of *dull* here as 'producing drowsiness' is fanciful. As a storm is impending, the sense is evidently 'gloomy,' 'clouded.' Cf. *Henry V.* 3. 5. 16: 'Is not their climate foggy, raw and dull?'

309–323. A description of portents is found in Dio Cassius 37. 25, but these are quite different from those in the text, being the flight of strange birds, thunderbolts from a clear sky, apparitions of the dead, and flashes in the west running up to heaven. These prodigies did not occur until a later date in the conspiracy, says G. However, it is doubtful if they have anything whatever to do with the conspiracy, being unusual occurrences at the attempted holding of the *augurium salutis* for the year B. C. 63. 'This,' says Dio Cassius (tr. Foster), 'is a kind of augury, which consists of an enquiry whether the god allows them to request welfare for the State, as if it were unholy even to make a request for it until the action received sanction. That day of the year was observed on which no army went out to war, or was taking defensive measures against any, or was fighting a battle.' G.'s assertion that Jonson borrows the circumstances in the text from Dio is groundless. In Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 8, signs and wonders are also mentioned, which, as the details coincide, would seem to be the same as those mentioned by Dio. Cicero (G. again to the contrary, notwithstanding) assigns no definite time to the marvels. In a fragmentary poem of Cicero's, *De Consulatu Meo*, Bk. 2, occur these lines:

> Principio ætherio flammatus Iuppiter igni
> Vertitur, et totum conlustrat lumine mundum,
> Menteque divina cælum terrasque petessit.

As no date is assigned to these prodigies, Jonson violates no historical facts in having the portents occur at the first meeting of the conspirators. As for his details, they are culled mainly from Lucan's *Pharsalia* and from Seneca. Sudden darkness as a portent is mentioned in Seneca's *Thyestes* 784 ff., in the description of Atreus' feast, which is referred to in the text—that horrible banquet where Atreus served up to his brother Thyestes the bodies of his three murdered sons. Seneca mentions sudden darkness also in *Hercules Furens* 944, and *Agamemnon* 967. Lucan mentions it also in *Phars.* 7. 451.

The extinguishing of the vestal flame is represented as a bad omen in *Phars.* 1. 549; groans issue from the soil after the battle, *Phars.* 8. 760.

The bloody arm waving a torch was suggested by *Phars.* 1. 572:

> Ingens urbem cingebat Errinnys,
> Excutiens pronam flagranti vertice pinum.

316. **And force a day.** Construed with the context, the meaning is: 'Our imaginations are easily stirred, and cause us to attach undue importance to the day (with its portents, etc.).' Cf. *Rape of Lucrece* 1021: 'I force not argument a straw.' See Glossary.

318. **We feare what our selues faine.** Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 1. 486: 'Quæ finxere, timent.'

326. **Noblest Romanes,** etc. Beginning here and extending to 420, the speech of Catiline is in general a paraphrase of the speech in Sallust, *Cat.* 20:

'Ni virtus fidesque vestra spectata mihi forent, nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio, in manibus frustra fuissent; neque ego per ignaviam aut vana ingenia incerta pro certis captarem. Sed quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortes fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maximum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere; simul quia vobis eadem quæ mihi bona malaque intellexi, nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed ego quæ mente agitave, omnes jam antea diversi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accendi-

tur, quum considero, quæ condicio vitæ futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam, postquam respublica in paucorum potentium jus atque dicionem concessit, semper illis reges tetrarchæ vectigales esse ; populi, nationes *stipendia pendere* ; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus sine gratia, sine auctoritate, iis obnoxii, quibus si respublica valeret formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiæ apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt ; nobis reliquere pericula, repulsas, judicia, egestatem. Quæ quousque tandem patiemini, fortissimi viri ? Nonne emori per virtutem præstat, qa vitam miseram atque inhonestam, — ubi alienæ superbiæ ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere ? Verum enim vero, pro deum atque hominum fidem ! victoria in manu nobis est ; viget ætas, animus valet ; contra illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt. Tantum modo incepto opus est ; cetera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium inest, tolerare potest illis divitias superare, quas profundant in exstruendo mari et montibus coæquandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse ? illos binas, aut amplius, domos continuare ; nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse ? Quum tabulas, signa, *toreumata* emunt, nova diruunt, alia ædificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant, tamen summa lubidine divitias vincere nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris æs alienum ; mala res, spes multo asperior : denique, quid reliqui habemus, præter miseram animam ? Quin igitur *expergiscimini* ? En illa, illa quam sæpe optastis, libertas, præterea divitiæ, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt ! fortuna omnia victoribus præmia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica, magis quam oratio hortentur. Vel imperatore vel milite me utimini : neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. Hæc ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam ; nisi forte animus fallit, et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis.'

351. **Shee builds in gold ; and, to the starres.** Petronius, *Sat.* 120. 87 : 'Aedificant auro sedesque ad sidera mittunt.'

356. **Bred, to consume corne.** Cf. Horace, *Epist.* 2. 27 : 'Fruges consumere nati.' *Corne* is here used in its general sense as ' grain.'

359. **Trembling beneath their rods.** 'The original is "Sine gratia, sine auctoritate, iis obnoxii, quibus si respublica valeret formidini essemus." Our poet hath preserved the sentiment, and given it a very ingenious turn; the allusion is to the consul's fasces, or rods, in which the axe was bound up.'—W.

371. **All things grown aged.** Sallust, *Cat.* 20, has *consenuerunt*, which would, perhaps, be better rendered 'have fallen into decay,' than so literally.

384. **Tyrian hangings.** A very highly esteemed and expensive dye was the purple from Tyre. It is frequently mentioned by the satirists. See Juvenal, *Sat.* 1. 27; 10. 38; Horace, *Ep.* 16. 18, etc.

385. **Ephesian pictures.** The temple of Diana at Ephesus was far-famed for its art-treasures. The city was the home of two famous painters, Parrhasius and Apelles. Cf. Strabo, *Geog.* 14. 1. 19 ff.

**Corinthian plate.** Corinth was sacked by Rome in 146 B.C., and all of its art-objects carried to Rome. It was especially renowned for its brass ware. At this time the city was practically a deserted ruin, so that no importations of 'plate' could be made. Cf. Strabo, *Geog.* 8. 6. 23 ff.

386. **Attalicke garments.** Garments made of cloth of gold were called *vestimenta attalica* from their reputed inventor, King Attalus III of Pergamon (see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 8. 74).

**New found gemmes.** Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 37. 6, gives a long account of the jewels displayed at Rome in the triumph of Pompey. One of the most remarkable was a chessboard made of two precious stones, three feet wide by two feet long (!), having upon it a moon of solid gold, weighing thirty pounds.

388. **The riuer Phasis.** The river Phasis was the great breeding-place for pheasants, which were considered luxuries. See Petronius, *Sat.* 119. 34 ff.:

> Atque Lucrinis
> Eruta litoribus verdunt conchylia cenas,
> Ut renovent per damna famem. Iam Phasidos unda
> Orbata est avibus, mutoque in litore tantum
> Solae desertis adspirant frondibus auræ.

389. **Lucrine lake.** See Juvenal, *Sat.* 4. 140–142:

> Circeis nata forent an
> Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo
> Ostrea, callebat primo deprændere morsu.

See also Horace, *Sat.* 2. 4. 32–3.

391. **Witty gluttony.** An echo of Petronius, *Sat.* 119. 33: 'Ingeniosa gula est.' For instances of the grotesque lengths to which 'witty gluttony' would go, see Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis*.

393. **Then, if the echo like not.** For *like* in this sense of 'be pleasing,' cf. *The Devil is an Ass*, Prologue (*Wks.* 5. 5): 'If this play do not like, the devil is in't.'

397—401. Suggested by Petronius, *Sat.* 119. 85ff.:

> Aspice late
> Luxuriam spoliorum et censum in damna furentem . . . .
> Expelluntur aquæ saxis, mare nascitur arvis,
> Et permutat rerum statione rebellant.

416. **Use me your generall.** Sallust has 'Imperatore me utimini' (*Cat.* 20). The construction is slightly strained in English.

418. **I not doubt.** For the omission of *do* or *did* when the verb is preceded by *not*, see Abbott, § 305. Cf. the next line: *if trust not flatter me*; 490, etc.

423. **Sacrament.** *Sacramentum*, in Roman use, was applied most generally to the oath of enlistment in military service, although it might apply to any solemn engagement ratified with a ceremony. In this latter sense it is here used. Cf. Spenser, *F.Q.* 5. 1. 125:

> This doubtful cause's right
> Can hardly but by sacrament be tried.

425. **Differring hurts, where powers are so prepared.** Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 1. 281: 'Semper nocuit differre paratis.'

426–472. The ideas here expressed, at times the very words, are found in Sallust, *Cat.* 21:

'Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res, neque spes bona ulla, tametsi

illis *quieta movere* magna merces videbatur, tamen postulare plerique, uti proponeret quæ condicio belli foret; quæ præmia armis peterent; quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri *tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium*, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia quæ bellum atque lubido victorum fert. Præterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes; *petere* consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem, et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum: cum eo se *consulem* initium ageddi facturum. Ad hoc maledictis increpat omnes bonos; surrum unumquemque nominans laudare: admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suæ, complures periculi aut ignominiæ, multos victoriæ Sullanæ, quibus ea prædæ fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacres videt, cohortatus ut petitionem suam curæ haberent, conventum dimisit.'

443. **CNEIVS PISO.** Piso has been represented as almost as complete in his villainies as Catiline. When quæstor, he was said to be concerned in the first conspiracy of Catiline, 65 B. C., when the alleged plan was to kill the senate, proclaim Crassus dictator, and make Cæsar master of the horse. According to the story, two attempts to carry out this plan were foiled, but no proceedings were taken against the conspirators. Piso was removed from Rome, however, and sent with prætorian powers to Hither Spain. It can readily be seen, if this were true, how easily he could have been induced to enter the new conspiracy. See Mommsen, *History of Rome* 4. 464 ff.; Mommsen considers these stories mostly gossip.

444. **NVCERINVS.** One of the conspirators was Publius Sittius from Nuceria, a speculator. Compelled by financial embarrassments to keep out of Italy, he had armed a troop of desperados in Mauretania and Spain, and wandered with these as a leader of free lances in Western Africa, where he had old commercial relations (Mommsen, *History of Rome* 4. 469).

483. **I' haue kill'd a slaue.** See Sallust, *Cat.* 22:

'Fuere ea tempestate qui dicerunt Catilinam, oratione

habita, cum ad jusjurandum *populares* sceleris sui *adigeret*, humani corporis sanguinem, vino permixtum, in pateris circumtulisse; inde quam post exsecrationem omnes degustavissent, sicut in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, atque eo dictitare fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta et hæc et multa præterea existimabant ab his, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quæ postea orta est, linire credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.'

It will be noticed that Sallust does not give undue credence to this report. Plutarch states that the conspirators sacrificed a man and ate of his flesh (*Cic.* 10). Florus (*Epitome* 4. 1) charges the drinking of blood. The story is, however, very probably untrue.

505. **What aile you**? This verb is at times intransitive, says *N.E.D.*, by reason of mistaking the personal object, which in early times usually preceded the impersonal verb, for the subject. Cf. *All's Well* 2. 4. 6: 'If she be very well, what does she ail, that she's not very well?' This use of the verb is not totally obsolete, as *N.E.D.* cites an instance as late as 1869.

508. **Are you coying it.** Acting coyly. Cf. Massinger, *New Way to Pay Old Debts* 3. 2:

> When he comes to woo you see you do not coy it:
> This mincing modesty has spoil'd many a match.

## CHORUS.

In this string of moral reflections, which Jonson calls a chorus, but which is spoken by no one, and addressed to no one, he thought not of imitating the ancients, but his own countrymen. Most of our old tragedies have appendages of this kind; but those which he had obviously in view were the *Cornelia* of Kyd, and the four tragedies of Lord Stirling (*Monarchicke Tragedies*: *Croesus*, *Darius*, *The Alexandrian*, *Iulius Caesar*, 'newly enlarged by William Alexander, Gentleman of the Prince's Privie Chamber', 1607), whose choruses,

like the present, make no apparent part of the action. *Gorboduc* has a chorus, and to name no more, so have the *Cleopatra* and *Philotas* of Daniel, all prior to *Catiline*.—G. The chorus is a translation of parts of the rhapsody of Eumolpus (Petronius Arbiter, *Sat.* 119, 120).

531–535. Cf. Petronius, *Sat.* 120. 80–84:

> Fors, cui nulla placet nimium secura potestas,
> Quæ nova semper amas et mox possessa relinquis,
> Ecquid Romano sentis te pondere victam.
> Nec posse ulterius perituram extollere molem ?

542. **Obnoxious to.** The Latin *obnoxiosus* means 'subject to.' The Latinism here employed thus creates a grave obscurity in English.

544. **And what they raise so ill sustaine.** Cf. Petronius, *Sat.* 120. 85: 'Et quas struxit opes, male sustinet.'

545. **Rome, now, is Mistris.** Cf. Petronius, *Sat.* 119. 1: 'Orbem iam totum victor Romanus habebat.'

553–555. Cf. the speech of Pluto to Fortune (Petronius, *Sat.* 120. 90–94):

> En etiam mea regna petunt. Perfosa dehiscit
> Mollibus insanis tellus, iam montibus haustis
> Antra gemunt, et dum vanos lapis invenit usus,
> Inferni manes cælum sperare fatentur.

560. **Yet, are the men more loose than they.** Lucan, *Phars.* 1. 164–5, has the following:

> Cultus gestare decoros
> Vix nuribus rapuere mares.

Suetonius, *Calig.* 52, also comments on the effeminacy of male attire.

563, 564. **So muche, that kinde May seeke it selfe there, and not finde.** Men seeking men would be unable to find any, *Kinde* being used in the sense of 'nature', as in *The Devil is an Ass* (*Wks.* 5. 4): 'A sluggish nature puts off man, and kind'; and also in *As You Like It* 3. 2. 92: 'If the cat will after kind.' Cf. Petronius, *Sat.* 119. 24: 'Quærit se natura, nec invenit.'

565–568. The luxury here described appears to be an epitome of that described by Lucan in his account of Cleopatra's feast to Cæsar (*Phars.* 10. 104 ff.). Ivory tables, silk couches, and gold and crystal goblets, are mentioned among other things. Ivory tables are also mentioned by Juvenal, *Sat.* 11. 123.

577–78. Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 1. 87–88:

> Et quando uberior vitiorum copia? quando
> Maior avaritiæ patuit sinus?

579–587. Cf. Petronius, *Sat.* 119. 39–45, and 49–51:

> Nec minor in campo furor est, emptique Quirites
> Ad prædem stretitumque lucri suffragia vertunt.
> Venalis populis, venalis curia patrum,
> Est favor in pretio. Senibus quoque libera virtus
> Exciderat, sparsisque opibus conversa potestas
> Ipsaque maiestas auro corrupta iacebat. . . .
> Quare tam perdita Roma
> Ipsa sui merces erat et sine vindice præda.

## ACT II.

**FVLVIA.** Plutarch, *Cic.* 16, calls Fulvia 'a woman of quality.' In *Antonius* 10 he mentions a Fulvia, now the wife of Antony, as having been the wife of Clodius. Sallust, *Cat.* 23, says she was of high birth. **GALLA.** This character is Jonson's own creation.

This whole act was developed by Jonson from hints in Sallust, *Cat.* 23, 24, 25, which are quoted below. From the first passage he took the incidents which he weaves into the quarrel of Fulvia and Curius; from the second, the basis for the introduction of Sempronia and her activities; and from the third, the character of Sempronia:

'Sed in ea conjuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus *coopertus*; quem censores senatu probri *gratia* moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas quam audacia; neque reticere quæ audierat, neque suam et ipse scelera occultare; prorsus neque dicere neque

facere quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, vetus consuetudo; cui cum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montesque polliceri coepit; minari interdum ferro, nisi obnoxia foret; postremo ferocius agitare quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiæ Curii causa cognita, tale periculum reipublicæ haud occultum habuit.

'Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse dicitur; mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primo ingentes sumptus *stupro* corporis toleraverant; post, ubi ætas *tantummodo* quæstui neque luxuriæ modum fecerat, æs alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi vel interficere.

'Sed in his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe *virilis* audaciæ facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro atque liberis satis fortunata fuit; litteris Græcis atque Latinis docta; psallere, saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probæ; multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ sunt. Sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit; pecuniæ an famæ minus parceret, haud facile discerneres; lubidine sic accensa ut sæpius peteret viros quam peteretur. Sed ea sæpe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, cædis conscia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia præceps *abierat*. Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum: posse *versus* facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel *procaci*: prorsus multæ facetiæ multusque *lepos* inerat.'

1. **Glasse.** Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36. 67, mentions glass mirrors, but they were imperfect. The best mirrors, he tells us in *Nat. Hist.* 23. 9 (45), were made of polished plates of silver.

15. **Globe or spire.** 'These were various ways in which the Roman ladies bound up their hair: and the manner is still to be seen on the coins and medals of that and the following age. The spire was used to add to one's height. See Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 502–504:

> Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
> Aedificat caput, Andromachen a fronte videbis:
> Post minor est: credas aliam.—W.

16. **Good impertinence.** The turning of the predominant quality of the moment into an appellative is common. Cf. 2. 219, where Curius calls Fulvia 'pretty solennesse,' and 2. 235, where Galla is called 'good diligence.' Also *Coriolanus* 2. 1. 192, where Coriolanus addresses Volumnia: 'My gracious silence, hail!'

30. **Wit-worme.** A contemptuous title. The use of 'worm' as denoting contempt or pity is frequent. Cf. *Tempest* 3. 1. 31: 'Poor worm, thou art infected'; also the popular hymn,

> Would He devote that sacred head
> For such a worm as I?

There is an element of this in the modern term 'bookworm' for a student, although the direct derivation here is different.

34–68. The characteristics here enumerated are practically all found in Sallust, *Cat.* 25, quoted *supra.*

51. **An honest woman.** For *honest* in the sense of 'virtuous,' cf. the title of Dekker's play, *The Honest Whore.*

52, 53. **Few wise womens honesties Will doe their courtship hurt.** Few wise women's purity will interfere with their being courted. *Courtship* is here used in a slightly unusual sense.

63. **Rather a visor than a face.** Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 6. 467: 'Tandem aperit vultum et tectoria prima reponit.'

66. **But shee is faine of late.** For definition of *faine* here, see *Glossary.* An instance of similar use occurs in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* 1. 1. 117: 'Well, I perceive I must be fain to bear with you.'

70. **There is the gallant!** For the use of *gallant* as a modish woman, cf. Pepys, *Diary,* 4 September, 1662: 'She would fain be a gallant.'

75. **Appeares the least part of her selfe.** Cf. Lyly, *Euphues*: *Anatomy* 1. 254. 36 ff. (ed. Bond): 'Take from them their . . . Iewells . . . and thou shalt soone percieue that a woman is the least part of hir selfe.' Cf. also Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 344: 'Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.'

88. **The foole is wild, I thinke.** The term *foole* carries with it no necessary stigma of mental deficiency. It was in common use in Jonson's day as a term of endearment, slightly tinged with pity. Cf. *Winter's Tale* 2. 1. 118: 'Do not weep, good fools; there is no cause.' It is used with telling pathos in *Lear* 5. 3. 306: 'And my poor fool is hang'd.'

97. **Tribes.** At this time there were thirty-five tribes, patricians and plebeians being alike enrolled.

98. **Centuries.** The tribes were originally divided into hundreds. The assembly of the centuries elected the higher officers of the state.

100. **CRASSUS, I, and CAESAR.** *I* is here again the old affirmative 'aye.' Cf. 1. 76: 'I, Plough up rocks.'

105. **A very orient one.** Superior pearls and gems anciently coming from the East, the term *orient* became transferred to any jewel of marked lustre and beauty. Cf. *Volpone* (*Wks.* 3. 190): 'Is your pearl orient, sir?' Also, Herrick, *Corinna's Going A-Maying*:

> Besides, the childhood of the Day has kept,
> Against you come, some Orient pearls unwept.

**There are competitors.** 'Sex competitores in consulatus petitione Cicero habuit, duos patricios, P. Sulpicium Galbam, L. Sergium Catilinam; quatvor plebeios, ex quibus duos nobiles, C. Antonium, M. Antoni oratoris filium, L. Cassium Longinum, duos qui tantum non primi ex familiis suis magistratum adepti erant, Q. Cornificium et C. Licinium Sacerdotem' (Asconius Pedianus, *In Tog. Can., Argumentum*).

115. **A new fellow.** A new fellow was what the Romans called 'novus homo,' the first of his family to hold public office, one having no images of ancestors to show.—W.

116. **An in-mate.** 'M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romæ' (Sallust, *Cat.* 31).

120. **No coate.** That is, no escutcheon.

127. **Twas vertue onely, at first, made all men noble.** Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 8. 19–21:

> Tota licet veteres exornent undique ceræ
> Atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.

137. **Suck'd at Athens.** Plutarch, *Cic.* 4, mentions that Cicero studied at Athens.

149. **And resists the crudities.** Crudities here obviously means particles of food which tend to decay the teeth. I can find no satisfactory definition for it in this sense, however, unless we consider its use here a broadening of that to denote undigested or indigestible foods.

156. **Seruant.** This word, meaning 'lover,' is very common in the old dramatists. Cf. *Every Man Out* (*Wks.* 1. 118):

> *BRISK.* A second good-morrow to my fair mistress.
> *SAVOLINA.* Fair servant, I'll thank you a day hence.

Also, *The Case is Altered* (*Wks.* 6. 334): 'Come, I will not sue stalely to be your servant.'

170. **Your noble Faunes.** The fauns were regarded as patrons of cattle-breeding.

180. **Cob-swan.** A male swan, not a 'large swan,' as G. supposed. Cf. Browning, *Sordello* 2. 320: 'Out-soar them, cobswan of the silver flock!'

182. **DANAE.** To woo Danaë, Jove disguised himself as a golden shower. Leda and Europa, mentioned just before, were also loves of Jove.

184. **Or ten such thundring gamsters.** In the *dramatis personæ* of *The Alchemist*, Surly is called a *gamester*. Tom Quarlous, in the *dramatis personæ* of *Bartholomew Fair*, has the same title. In both cases the meaning seems to be 'a rake, a wild young dog.' Shakspere applies it to loose women. Cf. *All's Well* 5. 3. 188:

> She's impudent, my lord,
> And was a common gamester to the camp.—C.

189—190. Cf. Martial, *Epig.* 2. 56:

> Sed mera narrantur mendacia: non solet illa
> Accipere omnino. Quid solet ergo? Dare.

210. **By CASTOR, no.** 'We must observe our poet's exactness in adapting his oaths to his speakers. Gellius

tells us, that, amongst the Romans, the women never swore by Hercules, nor the men by Castor. "Nusquam invenire est apud idoneos quidem scriptores, aut mehercle feminam dicere, aut mecastor virum. Aedepol autem, quod jusjurandum per Pollucem est, et viro et feminæ commune est" (II. 6). Accordingly, in the next scene, Curius swears by Pollux, and Fulvia, as the women should do, by Castor.'—W.

214. **And in disposition.** In good health, possibly a Gallicism. Cf. *Twelfth Night* 3. 1. 146:

> Grace and good disposition
> Attend your ladyship.

248—265. This passage is taken from Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 3. 601ff.:

> Incitat et ficti tristis custodia servi
> Et nimium duri cura molesta viri.
> Quæ venit ex tuto, minus est accepta voluptas:
> Ut sis liberior Thaide, finge metus!
> Cum melius foribus possis, admitte fenestra
> Inque tuo vultu signa timentis habe;
> Gallida prosiliat dicatque ancilla 'perimus!'
> Tu iuvenem trepidum quolibet abde loco!

262. **Wayter.** A waiting woman. Cf. Massinger, *Unnatural Combat* 1. 1: 'Bid your waiters stand further off, and I'll come nearer to you.'

267. **Both eyes and beake seal'd vp.** Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 1. 56. 57:

> Doctus spectare lacunar,
> Doctus et ad calicem vigilante stertere naso.

**Seal'd.** There is reason to agree with G. that W.'s emendation to *seel'd* is justifiable. 'Seeling,' says G., quoting the *Gentleman's Recreation*, 'is when a hawk first taken is so blinded with a thread run through the eyelids that she sees not or very little, the better to make her endure the hood.' A reference to falconry has occurred before in 1. 297: *Are your eyes yet vnseel'd?* **Six sesterces.** A sesterce was worth about four cents.

275. **Brokers.** Panders were commonly termed 'brokers.' Cf. *Troilus and Cressida* 5. 10. 33: 'Hence, broker, lackey!'

278. **The tragick visor.** Actors in tragedy in the classical age wore a mask covering the head to the shoulders, with a wig usually attached.

**Lady CYPRIS.** Cf. *Masque of Hymen* (*Wks.* 7. 68):

> Nor may your murmuring loves
> Be drown'd by Cypris' doves.

Jonson's own note to this passage runs: 'A frequent surname of Venus, not of the place as Cypria; but *quod parere faciat, ἢ τὸ Κυεῖν Παρέχουσα*, Theop. Phurnut and the grammarians upon Homer, see them.' Cyprus was an important seat of the worship of Venus.

283. **Will LAIS turne a LUCRECE?** Lais was the name of two famous Greek courtesans. Lucrece was a Roman matron, whom Sextus Tarquinus, son of the king, forced at the point of the sword. She called her family together, and stabbed herself.

305. **I shall ha' you come about, againe.** Cf. *Cat.* 4. 611: *They are come about, and wonne.* The meaning of the idiom is most apparent in *Epicoene* 4. 1 (*Wks.* 3. 407): 'I think, I shall come about to thee again' (that is, 'side with thee').

307. **By the faire entrailes of the matron's chests.** The beautiful contents of the matrons' treasure-chests. For *entrails* in this sense, cf. *Titus Andronicus* 2. 3. 230:

> Which like a taper in some monument, . . .
> Shows the ragged entrails of the pit.

310. **Promised mountaynes.** 'Repente glorians maria montesque polliceri coepit'; quoted *supra* from Sallust, *Cat.* 23.

316. **Under the spear at out cry.** That is, at an open sale. The Roman mode of proclaiming an auction was setting up a spear, at the foot of which the goods were sold; hence, as W. observes, the phrase 'sub hasta vendere.' Almost all the customs of this people were derived from the camp, where spoil taken from the enemy was originally

disposed of in this manner. *Outcry* is constantly used by our old writers for an auction. Thus Massinger, *City Madam*: 'The goods of this poor man sold at an outcry.' See also Killigrew, *Parson's* Wedding 2. 7: 'To be bought or sold, or let—or else sold at out-crys.'

Indeed, the person we now call an auctioneer was anciently termed an *outcrier*. Thus Stowe: 'He caused the same to be cried throughe the citie by a man wyth a belle, and then to be solde by the common outcrier' (ed. 1581, p. 1123). —G. *N.E.D.* observes the word in this use as late as 1848. Cf. Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*, p. 38: '(He) sold it at public outcry, at an enormous loss to himself.'

320. **Say, how you were wish'd; And so, he left you.** 'The reader, who reflects on what has passed between these lovers, will think this a very unintelligible expression; but Mr. Theobald's margin purposes an emendation, and exhibits "witch'd" as the most proper term.'—W. G. rightly considers this 'something worse than unnecessary.' It is a common failing to boast of what we might have had, and Jonson's picture of Fulvia as an aged spinster, looking o' her fingers, and toying with her cushion, is a delightful bit of satire.

331. **Couetise.** Cf. *Alchem.* 2. 1 (*Wks.* 4. 60): 'Why, this is Covetise!'

The word (*N.E.D.*) is derived from O.F. *coveitise*. Its original meaning was 'lust, inordinate desire.' In this sense, *N.E.D.* quotes it as late as 1847. In its limited sense, as here, of covetousness, it has disappeared.

332. **Change that vnkinde conceipt.** Cf. Chaucer, *T. and C.* 1. 692: 'For-thi wolde I fayn remeue thy wrong conceyte.' The meaning is 'notion, thought.'

344. **As close as shells of cockles meet.** The idea here expressed seemed to take Jonson's fancy. In *Alchemist* 3. 2 (*Wks.* 4. 99) occurs this:

Kiss, like a scallop, close.

In *Cynthia's Revels* 5. 2 (*Wks.* 2. 33):

O, she kisses as close as a Cockle.

In *The Staple of News* 2. 1 (*Wks.* 5. 212):

> They all kiss close, the last stuck to my lips.

In *The Masque of Hymen* (*Wks.* 7. 68):

> Then coin them 'twixt your lips so sweet,
> And let not cockles closer meet.

The thought is from a little poem attributed to the emperor Gallienus:

> Non murmura vestra columbæ,
> Brachia non hederæ, non vincant osculæ conchæ.

—C.—G. This poem, *Epithalamium*, may be found in P. Burman's *Anthologia Latinorum Epigrammatum et Poematum* (Amsterdam, 1759) 1. 684.

345. **Quite through Our subtle lips.** 'That is, thin, fine lips. So Shakespeare: "Like to a bowl upon a subtle ground".'—W. 'These "thin, fine" lips are none of Jonson's. His are—lips acquainted with the mystery of kissing: soft and balmy like those of Dame Pliant in the *Alchemist*:

> And subtlety of her lip, which must be tasted
> Often, to make a judgment (5. 4.: *Wks.* 4. 122)'—G.

W.'s quotation is badly chosen, as 'subtle' there means smooth or level, but I think his definition better than G's fanciful one.

348. **Why, now my FVLVIA lookes, like her bright name.** *Fulvia* means 'shining.' Jonson is continually playing on the names of the characters in his comedies. The play on Fulvia's name is continued in 353–4, *infra*.

CHORUS.

366. **Of your great nephew.** *Nephew* here means 'grandson,' as in 3. 627, *q. v.* Zeus being the father of Ares (Mars), and Mars of Romulus by Rhea Silvia, the Roman people traced their ancestry directly to the gods.

377. **Be more with faith, than face endu'd.** *Face* in its sense here of 'effrontery' is found in *Coriolanus* 4. 6. 116:

> I have not the face
> To say beseech you, cease.

391. **BRUTI.** L. Junius Brutus, according to tradition, led the uprising that deposed Tarquin, following the rape of Lucrece. So high was his sense of duty that, while consul, he condemned his own sons to death for treason. See Livy, *Hist.* 1. 58 ff., 2. 5. **DECII.** Publius Decius Mus, the first great man of this family, when consul in 337 B. C., devoted himself to the *Manes*. His son Decius, in 296 B. C., did likewise at Sentinum, when fighting against the Gauls and Samnites. In the war against Pyrrhus and the Tarentines in B. C. 280, his son is said to have followed the same course See Livy 7. 21 ff., 8. 10.

392. **CIPI.** Genucius Cipus was prætor. On his head horns suddenly sprouted as he was leaving the city. The haruspices declared this meant he would be king if he re-entered Rome. Hearing this, he went into exile for life voluntarily. See Ovid, *Met.* 15. 565. **CURTII.** In B. C. 362, Mettus Curtius devoted himself for his country to the *Manes*. See Livy 7. 6.

395. **CAMILLI.** M. Furius Camillus, who, as a result of false charges of embezzlement, had gone into voluntary exile, was recalled when Rome was sacked by the Gauls under Brennus (it was at this time that the Capitol was saved by the cackling of the sacred geese), and made dictator. He defeated the Gauls, gained other important victories, and was five times dictator. So runs the legend. See Mommsen, *Hist. Rome* 2. 4.

396. **FABII.** Q. Maximus Fabius Rullianus, in B. C. 324, in the absence of and against the orders of his superior officers, attacked and defeated the Samnites. He became five times consul and twice dictator (see Livy, *Hist.* 8. 28 ff.). His great-grandson, Q. Maximus Fabius Cunctator, by his policy of delay kept Hannibal from sacking Rome. He also was five times consul (see Livy, *Hist.* 27. 15 ff.). **SCIPIO'S.**

P. Cornelius Scipio was consul in 218 B. C., and distinguished himself in the second Punic war, where he met his death. His son, Publius, was the famous conqueror of Hannibal.

394. **Men, good, only for a yeere.** Cf. Horace, *Od.* 4. 9. 39: 'Consulque non unius anni.'

## ACT III

**CATO.** Marcus Cato was the great-grandson of the famous censor. At this time he was but a young man. In the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, he sided with the former. After Pompey's death, he joined his army to that of Scipio and Labienus, only to experience a disastrous defeat at Thapsus. Rather than submit to Cæsar, he committed suicide. This Cato is the hero of Addison's tragedy of that name. **CATVLVS.** Quintus Catulus was a distinguished leader of the aristocratic party, but one whose purity of personal life and patriotism were far superior to those of most of his associates. While censor with Crassus in 65 B. C., he resisted the latter's attempt to seize Egypt. He was one of the commissioners to restore the Capitol, destroyed in 83 B. C. during the civil war. Throughout his life he was at enmity with Cæsar. **ANTONIVS.** Caius Antonius was a man of rather questionable character. He accompanied Sulla in the war against Mithridates, and, being left in Greece, plundered the country. In 70 B. C. he was expelled from the senate by the censors for oppression of the allies and profligacy, but was soon after readmitted. He was prætor with Cicero in 65 B. C. and consul in 63 B. C. At the end of the war against Catiline, he went to Macedonia, which Cicero had given him (see note to line 477), and plundered it so shamelessly that his recall was proposed in the senate, 61 B. C. Cicero defended him. On his return in 59 B. C., he was accused both of a share in Catiline's conspiracy and of plundering. Cicero again defended him, but he was condemned on both counts, and banished. Cicero's defence of him lends color to the current report that the former had secretly arranged with Antony for a share of the spoil; and Antony himself

stated such to be the case. **CRASSVS, CAESAR.** Crassus is so well known as to require but slight mention, on account of his connection with the first triumvirate. He was enormously wealthy, and one of the most prominent creditors in Rome. He had been connected by popular rumor with Catiline's alleged former conspiracy, and was naturally under suspicion at this time. Cæsar needs no comment.

The opening scene is entirely Jonson's own. Sallust, in *Cat.* 24, gives a passing reference to the confusion of the conspirators on Cicero's election, as does Plutarch in *Cic.* 14; but there is nothing in either author to suggest the spirited scene that follows. The language in 1–84, however, strongly resembles the harangue of Marius to the people when seeking recruits, as given in Sallust, *Jugurtha* 85.

14. **I haue no vrnes.** The reference is to funeral-urns, cremation having long been the established funeral-rite among the aristocracy. **Dustie moniments.** Originally wax masks of the features of the ancestors of a family were set up in the *atria* or their *alæ*. The masks were known as *imagines* (translated 'images' in the next line by Jonson), and could be set up only by those who had borne a curule office, viz., from ædile upwards. Later, when the dwellings became more luxurious and magnificent, the *imagines* were no longer displayed openly, but kept in little closets, and in their places were set busts and shields. It is to these latter that *moniments* probably refers; although there is a possibility that the armor or other preserved trophies of famous forbears may be meant. Cicero, being a *novus homo*, would have none of these things to show.

15. **Broken images.** Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 8. 4–6:

> Et Curios iam dimidios humerosque minorem
> Corvinum et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem.

See note on 14, *supra*.

18. **Vnder-takers.** This word had many significations, but in James' reign it often stood for a particularly disagreeable concept. Hired managers of elections, paid to maintain a Court-majority in Parliament, were so named. A great

uproar was raised against them in 1614. Cf. *Volpone* 3. 5 (*Wks.* 3. 245): 'I know it and dare undertake for her'; *The Devil is an Ass* 2. 1 (*Wks.* 5. 39):

> He shall but be an undertaker with me
> In a most feasible business.

21. **Yo' haue cut a way,** etc. Cf. Cicero, *Pro Murena* 8: 'Cum ego vero tanto intervallo claustra ista nobilitatis refregissem, ut aditus ad consulatum posthac, sicut apud maiores nostros fuit, non magis nobilitati, quam virtuti, pateret.'

22. **And I would make those, your complexion.** The antecedent of *those* is *better lookes, and thoughts* in 320. See *Glossary*. Cf. *Much Ado* 2. 1. 305: 'Something of a jealous complexion.'

26. **In my iust yeere.** Under ordinary circumstances, according to the fixed rules for accession to office, a man would be fortythree on reaching the consulship: this was Cicero's age.

29. **Loud consents.** So Cicero, *In Pisonem*: 'Me cuncta Italia, me ordines, me universa civitas, non prius tabella quam voce priorem consulem declaravit.'

30. **Silent bookes.** These, referred to in quotation, *supra*, as 'tabellæ,' were the voting tablets. They were of wax, blank, and the voters filled in the desired names.

34. **Counsell.** Opinion. Cf. *Cat.* 4. 280.

36. **Two things,** etc. Cf. Sallust, *Jug.* 85: 'Quo mihi acrius adnitundum est, uti neque vos capiamini et illi frustra sint.'

37. **Nor you repent you.** The reflexive use of this verb is frequent in the literature of the time. Cf. Ps. 135. 14: 'He will repent himself concerning his servants.'

54. **I know, 'twas this,** etc. 'Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia æstuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum quamvis egregius homo novos adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere' (Sallust, *Cat.* 23).

61. **The voice of Rome is the consent of heaven!** 'Vox populi, vox Dei' (Latin proverb).

62. **At the helme.** Horace, in *Od.* 1. 14, refers to the 'ship of state.' Cicero himself uses the figure often. In *Pro Murena* 35, Cato is represented as saying, 'Tu gubernacula reipublicæ petas'; in *Pro. Mur.* 2, Cicero speaks of Murena as the captain of a vessel about to encounter grievous storms; in *In Pisonem* 9, occurs this: 'Neque tam fui timidus, ut, qui in maximis turbinibus ac fluctibus reipublicæ navem gubernassem, salvamque in portu collocassem'; and in 2 *Phil.* 44 is this: 'Habet populus Romanus ad quos gubernacula reipublicæ deferat.'

64. **Each pelty hand,** etc. Cf. Seneca. *Epistul. Mor.* 12. 3. 34:

> 'Non tamquam [tempestas] gubernatori, sed tamquam naviganti nocet. Alioquin gubernatoris artem adeo non inpedit, ut ostendat: tranquillo enim, ut aiunt, quilibet gubernator est. Navigio ista obsunt, non rectori eius, qua rector est.'

66. **Gouerne.** Although perfectly intelligible in its sense of 'control,' this word was probably used by Jonson because of its suggestion of the Latin *guberno*, 'to pilot.'

80. **A day, an hour is left me.** W. thought the construction obscure, and proposed to emend to 'Each day and hour is left me.' It is, however, perfectly clear if we supply the relative *that* after *hour*—supplying an omission very common not only in the old writers but in modern poets as well. See Abbott, *Shakes. Gram.* § 244.

83. **The vicious count their yeeres,** etc. A Latin verse, of unknown authorship, runs:

> Sat vixit, bene qui vixit spatium brevis ævi;
> Ignavi numerant tempore, laude boni.

100. **HYDRA.** One of the labors of Hercules was the slaying of the Lernæan hydra, a monster with nine heads, one immortal. See Hesiod, *Theog.* 313 ff.

101. **To fit their properties,** etc. 'Having called the

consul "an Herculean actor in the scene," he continues the metaphor in terms taken from the stage. All necessaries in the performance of a play, are called *properties*; and the sense is, that it will cost him as much pains to get the proper implements and material for his scheme, as to act his own part in it.'—W. The word 'properties,' says Collier, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry* 3. 250, was 'technically applied to the appurtenances of the stage as early as the year 1511.'

113. **And made Praetor.** A person expelled from the Senate could be readmitted only by an election as prætor. Lentulus, as has been noted, had been expelled for profligacy. See Plutarch, *Cic.* 17.

120—123. **It did not please the gods,** etc. Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 10. 346—351:

> Si consilium vis,
> Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus quid
> Conveniat nobis rebusque sit utile nostris.
> Nam pro iucundis aptissima quæque dabunt di.
> Carior est illis homo, quam sibi.

'The hypocritical language of Catiline,' says G., 'is artfully assumed to deceive Q. Catulus, and the consul Antonius, of whose good opinion and assistance he stood in need.'—But why need to deceive Antonius, when we have been led to believe that Catiline has already sounded him about the plot, and found him amenable?

137. **To stomack your repulse.** To resent your defeat. Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra* 3, 4. 12:

> Believe not all, or, if you must believe,
> Stomach not all.

138. **Sir, shee brookes not me.** There is a play on words here. *Brook* in both its uses in this line means 'endure.' When Catiline is accused, according to common rumor, of enduring his defeat ill, he replies that public report does not endure him. The *shee* is doubtless due to the feminine of the Latin *Fama*.

159. **Woodden god.** The god of gardens was Priapus,

whose statue was usually of wood and often had to serve as a scarecrow. See Horace, *Sat.* 1. 8.

166. **ANTONIVS wan it but by some few voices.** So Asconius, *In Tog. Can.* 22: 'Antonius pauculis centuriis Catilinam superavit.'

172. **Would it had burnt me vp.** There seems to be an allusion here to the poisoned robe of Nessus, by which Hercules met his end. For the story, see Ovid, *Met.* 93. 157 ff.

175. **That I could reach the axell, where the pinnes are.** There is a play on words here, the Latin for 'axle' and 'axis' being the same, *axis*. The Roman belief was that the earth was supported on its axis: 'Terra axe sustinetur,' says Cicero (*Tim.* 10).

179. **Who would not fall,** etc. Cf. Seneca, *Thyestes* 882–885:

> Vitæ est avidus, quisquis non vult,
> Mundo secum pereunte mori.

190. **Make on, vpon the heads.** Whalley's advisers would have had him emend this to *make one*, i. e., 'make a bridge.' The sense is 'hasten on, proceed.' Cf. *Yorkshire Tragedy* 1. 8. 214: 'Up, up, and struggle to thy horse; make on.' Cf. also *Cat.* 1. 143: 'As he would Goe on vpon the Gods.' *Make on* and *go on*, with *upon*, signify 'to rush forward with violence.'

192. **Of those remaine.** For the omission of the relative, cf. 3. 80, and note.

**Then is't a prey,** etc. Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 1. 150–1:

> Impellens quidquid sibi summa petenti
> Obstaret, gaudensque viam fecisse ruina.

197. **Would fetch downe new.** The allusion is to Prometheus, who, for stealing fire from heaven, was riveted to Mt. Caucasus by Jove, and a giant bird sent to feed on his entrails (Hyginus, *Fab.* 143). By reversing the situation, Catiline pays Cethegus a most fulsome compliment.

200. **To tire.** *Tire*, as applied to birds of prey, means

'to seize and feed on ravenously, tear apart, rend.' So *Venus and Adonis* 55–56:

> Even as an empty eagle, sharp by fast
> Tires with her beak on feathers, flesh and bone.

204. **Giants warre.** The giants were the children of Gæa (Hesiod, *Theog.* 50, 185). They waged a severe contest with the gods, but were defeated. See note on 5. 678.

219–22. **The fire you speake of.** See Cicero, *Pro Mur.* 25: 'Præsertim cum idem ille in eodem ordine paucis diebus ante, Catoni, fortissimo viro, iudicium minitanti, ac denuntianti, respondisset, si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua, sed ruina, extincturum.'

230. **These things, when they proceed not, they goe backward:** 'Qui non proficit, deficit' (Latin proverb).

235—241. **Is there a heauen?** etc. There is a great similarity in expression here and in Lucan, *Phars.* 7. 445 ff.:

> Sunt nobis nulla profecto
> Numina; cum cæco rapiantur sæcula casu,
> Mentimur regnare Iovem....
> Mortali nulli
> Sunt curata deo.

See also Seneca, *Hippolytus* 671–674:

> Magne regnator deum,
> Tam lentus audis scelera? tam lentus vides?
> Ecquando sæva fulmen emittes manu,
> Si nunc serenum est?

243. **His former drifts.** For *drift* in the sense of scheme or plot, cf. *Two Gentlemen of Verona* 2. 6. 43:

> Love, lend me wings to make my purpose swift,
> As thou hast lent me wit to plot this drift!

248–49. **The last affection A high mind can put off.** Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 4. 6: 'Etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima exuitur.'

259. **All insolent fictions.** *Insolent,* from *in* (negative)

plus *soleo* ('to be accustomed'), is a striking instance of Jonson's Latinisms.

261. **The stripes, and wounds of a late Ciuill warre.** That is, the contests of Marius and Sulla.

266. **Sinke of monsters.** Cf. 'sentina reipublicæ' (Cicero, *Cat.* 5).

280. **The farre-triumphed world.** No recognized definition of *triumph* quite expresses its meaning here. The sense is, 'the world that has celebrated its triumphs widely' (*farre* being here an adverb), or 'that is far famed for its triumphs.' **For vnto whom Rome is too little, what can be inough?** Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 5. 274: 'Quid satis est, si Roma parum?'

283–287. These lines are translated in part almost literally from Florus, *Epit.* 4. 1: 'Additum est pignus coniurationis sanguis humanis: quem circumlatum pateris bibere; summum nefas, nisi amplius esset, propter quod biberunt.'

296–97. **Should Rome... Turne most ingrate.** Jonson ever prefers the pure Latin forms of words. For *ingrate* used thus as an adjective ('ungrateful'), see *The Devil is an Ass* 1. 3 (*Wks.* 5. 33): 'I were too stupid, or, what's worse, ingrate.'

298. **In conscience of the fact.** Cf. Milton, *P. L.* 8. 502: 'Her vertue and the conscience of her worth.' (Conscience here = 'consciousness.') The words are practically Cicero's own. Cf. 2 *Phil.* 44: 'Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus est.'

**So much good deede Reward themselves:** 'Virtue is its own reward' (old proverb).

CICERO, FVLVIA, CVRIVS. Plutarch, *Cic.* 16, does not mention Fulvia's interference until the night of the attempt on Cicero's life, when she went to warn him of his danger. Florus, in *Epit.* 4, states that Fulvia revealed the plot after Cicero's election, but makes no mention of Curius in this connection. Sallust first mentions Fulvia in *Cat.* 23, where she betrays the conspiracy, but not to Cicero, and before his election. Indeed, he says it was the uneasiness caused by her reports that led the people to turn to Cicero for

help, and elect him consul. Later, Cicero made use of Fulvia, for we find the following in Sallust, *Cat.* 26: 'Namque a principio consulatus sui multa pollicendo per Fulviam efficerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinæ sibi proderet.' These lines form the basis for the scene that follows.

348. **To shoot eyes at her.** Cf. *Volpone* 5. 5. (*Wks.* 3. 305): 'That I could shoot mine eyes at him, like gunstones!' The same figure occurs in 1 *Hen. VI* 4. 7. 79–80:

> O were mine eyeballs into bullets turn'd,
> That I in rage might skoot them at your faces!

353. **Not wrought for time,** etc. Suggested by Horace's famous lines (*Od.* 3. 30): 'Exegi monumentum ære perennius,' etc.

368. **He, that is void of feare, may soone be iust.** From Seneca, *Octavia* 441: 'Justo esse facile est, cui vacat pectus metu.'

372. **I know, that he is comming.** That is, that he is giving way to your wishes. So, in *Volpone* 2. 3 (*Wks.* 3. 222): 'I hear him coming.'—G.

377. **And FVLVIA come i' the rere, or o' the by.** Cf. *New Inn* (*Wks.* 5. 352): 'You had it on the bye, and we observed it.'—C.

379. **Vantage.** The verb 'profit,' 'gain.' Spenser has a similar use of it, *F. Q.* 1. 4. 49: 'Needlesse feare did never vantage none.'

392. **It is a weaknesse,** etc. Cf. Publius Syrus, *Sen.* 616: 'Stultum facit fortuna quem volt perdere'; also the Latin proverb: 'Quem dei volunt perdere prius dementant.'

406. **Counsaile.** Advice. Cf. *Cat.* 4. 313, and 5. 547.

434–435. **The dignitie of truth is lost, With much protesting.** Cf. *Hamlet* 3. 2. 240: 'The lady doth protest too much, methinks.'

446. **Wake.** This word in the sense of 'watch' has already occurred in 3. 90. It survives in this meaning among the Irish, where to 'wake' is specifically to watch a night with a corpse. 'Wake' is also used by the Irish as a

noun, to denote the vigil. For its use as 'watch,' cf. Moore, *The Gamester* 1. 1: ''T was misery enough to wake for him till then.'

464. **They helpe thee by such aides, as geese.** See note on 2. 395.

476–477. **And bestow The prouince on him.** This fact is noted in Plutarch, *Cic.* 12. The province was the rich one of Macedonia. As Antonius' only anxiety was his debts, this arrangement effectually weaned him from the conspiracy. Plutarch further states that Cicero did not even take the province of Gaul, allotted to him in place of Macedonia. Sallust, *Cat.* 26, also has a reference to an arrangement about the provinces, but is not so specific.

480. **So few are vertuous, when the reward's away.** Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 10, 141–2:

> Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
> Præmia si tollas?

CAESAR, CATILINE. Gifford undoubtedly erred in placing this scene in Catiline's house. Cicero in 1 *Cat.* 4, and *Pro Sulla* 18, and Sallust in *Cat.* 27 and 28, mention the meeting as having taken place at Lecca's house. So also Jonson, in *Cat.* 4. 264. Sallust's words are, 'Rursus intempesta nocte coniurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Læcam.' There is no evidence that Cæsar ever visited Catiline, or had any share in this conspiracy; although he was suspected, because the gossip of the day had it that he and Crassus had been deeply implicated in Catiline's alleged former plot. Cæsar's name, however, is throughout connected with that of Catiline on very slender grounds, mainly on the untrustworthy evidence of his political opponents.

491. **Ille therefore end in few.** 'I'll end in a few words.' Cf. Milton, *P. L.* 10. 157: 'He thus to Eve in few.'

505. **When it is past, and prosper'd, 'twill be vertue.** Cf. Seneca, *Her. Fur.* 251–2:

> Prosperum ac felix scelus
> Virtus vocatur.

Cf. also Tacitus, *Ann.* 12. 67: 'Summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum præmiis.' Cf. also Seneca, *Phædra* 606: 'Honesta quædam scelera successus facit.'

516. **Aspired.** For the sense, as here, of 'attained,' cf. *Rom. and Jul.* 3. 1. 122: 'That gallant spirit hath aspir'd the clouds.'

518. **Is a good religious foole.** 'Jonson probably uses *religious* in the Latin sense, *religious* generally signifying "fearful," "superstitious," and so Cæsar understands him.' —W. See Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ* 4. 9. 1: 'Religentem esse oportet; religiosum nefas.'

523, 524. **A serpent, ere he comes to be a dragon, Do's eat a bat.** This is the Greek proverb, 'Unless a serpent eat a serpent, he will not become a dragon,' which, Erasmus says, savours, to him, a little of vulgarity. In Dryden's *Œdipus* occurs this passage (*Wks.*, ed. Scott-Saintsbury, 6. 174):

> A serpent n'er becomes a flying dragon
> Till he has eat a serpent.

Cf. 'Serpens, serpentum vorans, fit draco. Peccata, peccatis superaddita, monstra fiunt' (*Hieroglyphica Animalium, per Archibaldum Simsonum, Dalkethensis Ecclesiae pastorem*, p. 95).—G.

525. **What you doe, doe quickly, SERGIVS.** The parallelism of phrasing here and in John 3. 27 ('Then said Jesus unto him, That thou doest, do quickly') is doubtless intentional, and the connotation achieved is as striking as it is subtle.

534–540. Cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 24: 'Per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adiungere sibi, vel interficere.'

542. **Then euer the old potter TITAN knew.** Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 14. 34–5:

> Quibus arte benigna
> Et meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan.

Prometheus, one of the Titans, according to legend, made the first man, molding him from clay (Hyginus, *Fab.* 142; Ovid, *Met.* 1. 2. 76 ff.).

552. **Piso is dead, in Spaine.** Piso had been sent to Spain, on the breaking up of Catiline's first conspiracy, so gossip ran, by the state, to keep him where he could do no mischief. He was murdered (Sallust, *Cat.* 19) on his way to his province by a body of Spanish horse in his command; in revenge for his barbarity to them, according to one account, at the instigation of Pompey, according to another.

554. **He too's comming backe.** Pompey's return at this time from his great campaign was being rumored, says Plutarch (*Cic.* 18).

557–561. This information is given in Sallust, *Cat.* 27: 'Igitur C. Manlium Fæsulas atque in eam partem Etruriæ, Septimium quendam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit.' Manlius had been an officer in the army of Sulla, and, having been distinguished for his services, had been placed at the head of a colony of veterans at Fæsulæ, but had squandered his property in extravagance.

563. **Behold this siluer eagle.** Sallust, *Cat.* 59 mentions this as the standard of Marius. Cicero mentions it at least twice (1 *Cat.* 9): 'A quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi, ac tuis omnibus perniciosam esse confido, et funestam futuram, cui domi tuæ sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit, sciam esse præmissam'; (2 *Cat.* 6): 'Cum aquilam illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrarium scelerum domi suæ fecerat, scirem esse præmissam.' The eagle gradually displaced the boars, wolves, and dragons, which the armies had formerly borne, and became the national standard. Pompey used it almost exclusively, and Cæsar captured nearly sixty eagles at Pharsalia.

572. **The twenti'th, from the firing of the Capitol.** 'Ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romæ tribus Corneliis portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potire; præterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem sæpe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore' (Sallust, *Cat.* 67). Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 4, gives the same information. See also note on 1. 135.

584. **Me thinkes our lookes, are not so quicke and high.** Sallust, *Cat.* 27, states that at this meeting, Catiline com-

plained greatly of his followers' apathy: 'Ibique multa de ignavia eorum questus.'

585. **No?** **Whose is not?** 'This is artful. Curius, who is conscious of his treachery, is quick to avert suspicion.'—G.

597. **I think the Saturnalls.** Cicero, in 3 *Cat.* 7, and Plutarch, in *Cic.* 18, name this as the date set by the conspirators. The Saturnalia occurred about the eighteenth of December, and many of the celebrations survive in the modern Christmas. The feast was one of absolute relaxation and merriment. Business houses, law courts, and schools were closed. Special indulgences were granted to slaves: they were relieved from all ordinary toil; were permitted to wear the *pilleus*, or badge of freedom; were granted full freedom of speech; and were guests at a banquet, attired in clothes of their masters, with their masters waiting upon them at the table (see Macrobius, *Sat.* 1. 7, 10; Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rome* 40. 19). The cunning of Catiline in selecting this day is evident; and the city would be in still further security because it was deemed sacrilege to begin a war during the feast. **'Twill be too long.** Cethegus was constantly urging action, says Sallust, *Cat.* 43: 'Inter hæc parata atque decreta Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum; illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse, seque, si pauci adjuvarent, langeuntibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturam. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat; maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.'

615. **Why do your hopes,** etc. Cf. Plautus, *Pseudolus* 2. 3. 19: 'Certa amittimus, dum incerta petimus.'

629. **Goe all to hell, together in a fleet.** A reference to the speech of Cethegus, 1. 247.—G.

630–638. That Longinus was to help fire the city is told in Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 6: 'L. Cassium, qui sibi procurationem incendendæ urbis depoposcerat.' That Statilius was to have part in it, and that the firing was to be done in twelve places, is found in Sallust, *Cat.* 43: 'Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent' (Plutarch, *Cic.* 18, says it was to be done in a

hundred places). That combustibles were laid in at Cethegus' house is told by Plutarch, *Cic.* 18: 'The night appointed for the design was one of the Saturnalia; swords, flax, and sulphur they carried and hid in the house of Cethegus.' From the same source we learn of the plan to stop the conduits, etc.: 'Others were appointed to stop up the aqueducts, and to kill those who should endeavor to carry water to put it out.'

643. **To seize his sonnes.** This information is given in Plutarch, *Cic.* 18: 'Lentulus . . . designed . . . to spare nobody, except only Pompey's children, intending to seize and keep them as pledges of his reconciliation with Pompey.'

659. **Was borne to be my opposition.** 'Seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset; eum suis consiliis multum obficere' (Sallust, *Cat.* 27).

661. **Yet.** 'This word is not well understood by modern critics, who seem to consider it, in such expressions as this before us, as little more than an expletive. It has, however, a meaning, and a very good one, though it may be difficult to define it precisely. It seems to have somewhat of the force of "notwithstanding," "nevertheless," &c., and can only be felt in all its force by those who have diligently studied our old writers, far better judges of the euphony as well as the power of language than ourselves.'—G.

662–679. Plutarch, in *Cic.* 16, says that Catiline ordered Marcius and Cethegus to kill Cicero, under pretext of morning visitation. On this account, in his effort to be true to all authorities, Jonson introduces Cethegus, accounting lamely for his defection, in line 799 of this Act, by the remark of Vargunteius, 'He has left it since he might not do't his way.' The circumstances in the text are mainly from Sallust, *Cat.* 28: 'Igitur, perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, C. Cornelius, eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius, senator, constituere ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus, sicuti salutatum, introite ad Ciceronem, ac de improviso domi suæ imparatuum confodere.'

663. **He shall die,** etc. From Seneca, *Her. Fur.* 642–645:

> Si novi Herculem
> Lycus Creonti debitas poenas dabit.
> Lentum est dabit: dat; hoc quoque est lentum: dedit.

669. **And vnder the pretext of Clientele.** Originally, a stranger settling in Rome, unable to obtain citizenship, attached himself as *client* to some patrician *patron*, the relation thus established being known as *clientela*. The clients gathered in the morning to greet their patron with the polite 'Ave.' At this time, the morning visit was more complimentary than anything else, implying little obligation on either side, and resembling most closely the *levee* of men in authority, so aften pictured in our earlier novels.

695. **As TARQVINE did the poppy heads.** Sextus, son of L. Tarquinius Superbus, having gained admittance to Gabii by a ruse, sent a messenger to his father asking advice as to the best method of delivering the city. His father said nothing, but walked up and down, striking off with a stick the heads of the tallest poppies. Sextus took the hint, and had the chief men put to death. See Livy, *Hist.* 1. 54.

702. **Make haste, and bid him get his guards about him.** So Sallust, *Cat.* 28: 'Curius ubi intellegit quantum periculi consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam dolum qui parabatur enunciat.' Plutarch merely states that Fulvia warned Cicero, telling him especially to beware of Cethegus.

723. **My stale, with whom I stalke.** Cf. *Tempest*, 4. 1. 187: 'Go bring it hither for stale to catch these thieves.' The allusion, says G., is to an animal, or representation of one, under cover of which the fowler stalks unseen, till he gets within a convenient distance of his game. In its broader sense, *stale* is a decoy of any sort. Cf. *New Inn, dramatis personæ* (*Wks.* 5. 303): 'Frank, . . . set up as a stale by Prudence, to catch Beaufort or Latimer.'

736. **The brethren sprung of dragons teeth.** See Ovid, *Met.* 3. 31 ff.

740. **My bloud turne . . . phlegme.** *Phlegme*, in the old physiology, was one of the four bodily 'humours,' described

as cold and moist. A superabundance of it was supposed to make one apathetic and indolent. Cf. the *Mirror for Magistrates* (ed. 1609, p. 407):

> They turned their blood to melancholike fleumes,
> Their courage hault to cowardise extreame.

785–786. **And teach me slacke no pace Tane for the state.** Cicero is not noted for his modesty. He rather loudly proclaims his disinterested patriotism, and willingness to bear odium for the public good, in several places, especially in 2 *Cat.* 7, in the passage beginning, 'O conditionem miseram, non modo administrandæ, verum etiam conservandæ reipublicam.' See also 1 *Cat.* 9, and 2 *Cat.* 12.

796. **The dore's not open, yet.** 'Ita illi ianua prohibiti tantum facinus frustra susceperant' (Sallust, *Cat.* 8).

814–827. These lines are in large part a very close rendering of certain of Cicero's own words, as found in the Catilinarian orations: 'Muta jam istam mentem . . . obliviscere cædis atque incendiorum—luce sunt clariora nobis tua consiliis omnia' (1 *Cat.* 3). 'Jam intelleges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem, quam te ad perniciem rei publicæ' (1 *Cat.* 4). 'Ne illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram' (2 *Cat.* 3). 'In eiusmodi certamine ac prœlio, nonne, etiam si hominum studia deficiant, dii ipsi immortales cogent . . . tot, et tanta, vitia superari?' (2 *Cat.* 11). 'Nam illud non intellego quam ob rem, si vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint' (2 *Cat.* 10).

816. **Leaue to be mad.** See Abbott, *Shakes. Gram.*, § 356, for the use of the infinitive. Cf. *Epicoene* 4. 1 (*Wks.* 5. 409): 'You must leave to live in your chamber'; *Cat.* 1. 495: 'And, when I leaue to wish this to thee.'

828. **Practice.** A piece of treachery, a stratagem, a wicked combination. The word has already occurred more than once in this sense in the present play: thus, 3. 241:

> What can excite
> Thine anger, if this practice be too light?

And again, 3. 388:

> Did he . . . imagine
> The gods would sleepe, to such a Stygian practice?—G.

840—845. There are faint echoes in these lines of a passage in Seneca, which Jonson may have had in mind. See *Thyestes* 802ff.:

> Quæ causa tuos limite certo
> Deiecit equos? Numquid aperto
> Carcare Ditis victi temptant
> Bella gigantes? Numquid Tityos
> Pectore fesso renovat veteres
> Saucius iras?

842. **There are no sonnes of earth, that dare Againe rebellion?** The allusion is to the Gigantomachia, as the Giants were the sons of Earth (Gæa). See note on 3. 204.

860—861. Cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 11: 'Sed primo . . . ambitio . . . animos hominum exercebat: quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat.'

866—867. **And ne're is fill'd,** etc. Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 2. 657: 'Nil actum credens cum quid superesset agendum.' Cf. also Juvenal, *Sat.* 10. 155.

## ACT IV

**ALLOBROGES.** A people of ancient Gaul, principally settled in Savoy and part of Dauphiny. They were an unquiet and mutinous people, and their deputies were now at Rome, with a complaint against their governor, L. Murena, which the senate had refused to hear. Hence the ill humor with which they are introduced on the scene, and the readiness with which they subsequently enter into the views of the conspirators.—G. The wretched condition of these people is mentioned by Plutarch, *Cic.* 18: 'Whilst these plans were preparing, it happened there were two ambassadors from the Allobroges staying in Rome: a nation at that time in a distressed condition, and very uneasy under the Roman government.'

(**The storm continued.**) 'There is a reference to this storm, (by which the Capitol appears to have been struck) in that fine fragment of Cicero's already mentioned. Few of his contemporaries have anything superior to the following lines:

> Nunc ea Torquato quæ quondam, et consule Cotta,
> Lydius ediderat Tyrrhenæ gentis haruspex,
> Omnia fixa tuus glomerans determinat annus,
> Nam pater altitonans stellanti nixus Olympo,
> Ipse suos quondam tumulos ac templa petivit,
> Et Capitolinis injecit sedibus ignes.'—G.

G. had already connected with these portents a scene in Act 1. See my note on 1. 309ff.

1. **Can these men feare?** Juvenal, *Sat.* 13. 223–4, speaking of the effect of thunder-storms on guilty consciences, says:

> Hi sunt, qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent,
> Cum tonat, exanimes primo quo murmure coeli.

9. **But downe-ward, all, like beasts.** Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 15. 147: 'Cuius egent prona et terram spectantia.'

19. **If we were bold, and wretched.** The expression is Juvenal's 'fortibus ac miseris,' and the concluding lines a pretty close translation of his threat to Ponticus, in *Sat.* 8. 122–125:

> Tollas licet omne, quod usquam est
> Auri atque argenti; scutum gladiumque relinquens
> Et jacula et galeam: spoliatis arma supersunt.

30–33. Cf. Horace, *Od.* 3. 3. 7–8:

> Si fractus illabatur orbis
> Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

40. **FABIVS SANGA.** 'Itaque Q. Fabio Sangæ, cuius patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur' (Sallust, *Cat.* 41). The Roman system of 'patronage' at first meant only the relation between a citizen and aliens whom he took under his protection. Later the term became much extended. On conquering a foreign people, the victorious general usually

became their patron. Sometimes subject-tribes and allies selected their own patron. The duties of the patron were to conserve the interests of his clients, to act, in short, as their ambassador at Rome. Quintus Fabius Sanga, patron of the Allobroges, was a descendant of Fabius Allobrogicus, the conqueror of their nation.

41. **Whose patronage your state doth vse.** See note on 40, *supra*.

THE SENATE. This scene is based on the last half of Sallust, *Cat.* 31:

'At Catilinæ crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi præsidia parabantur, et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paullo. Postremo dissimulandi causa et ut sui expurgandi, sicuti jurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive præsentiam ejus timens, seu ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicæ, quam postea scriptum edidit. Sed ubi ille assedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu, voce supplici postulare, "Patres conscripti ne quid de se temere crederent; ea familia ortum, ita ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet: ne existimarent, sibi patricio homini, cuius ipsius atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita republica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romæ." Ad hoc maledicta alia cum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus "Quoniam quidem circumventus," inquit, "ab inimicis præceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam".'

46. **More regard.** For *more* in its adjective sense of 'greater,' see Abbott, *Shakes. Gram.*, § 17. Cf. *Epicoene* 1. 1 (*Wks.* 3. 344): 'How! that's a more portent.'

61. **Here, in the house of IVPITER, the STAYER.** 'Senatum in ædem Jovis Statoris convocavi' (Cicero, 2 *Cat.* 6). As the special protector of Rome, Jove was called 'Stator,' 'the Stayer' (or 'Maintainer').

75–76. **But still haue wanted Either your eares, or faith.** Cf. Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 2: 'Quoniam auribus vestris propter in-

credibilem magnitudinem sceleris minorem fidem faceret oratio mea.'

88–89. **The step To more, and greater.** Cf. Cicero, 1 *Cat.* 5: 'Quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate reipublicæ esse coniunctam.'

90. **I would with those preserue it, or then fall.** See Cicero, 2 *Cat.* 12: 'Mihi aut cum his vivendum aut pro his esse moriendum.'

92. **See, how his gorget 'peeres aboue his gowne.** Gorget is a piece of throat-armor. The circumstance in the text is mentioned by Plutarch, *Cic.* 14, but as having occurred at the elections, on the occasion of Catiline's second attempt to secure the consulship, at which time Silanus and Murena were elected. Cicero himself, in *Pro Murena* 26, has the following: 'Descendi in campum . . . cum illa late insignique lorica . . . ut omnes boni animadverterent, et, cum in metu et periculo consulem viderent, id quod est factum, ad opem præsidiumque concurrerent.'

118. **A man . . . of no meane house.** See note on 1. 83. Cf. Acts 21. 39: 'But Paul said, I am a Jew of Tarsus, in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city.'

122–126. Almost literally from Q. Cicero, *De Pet. Con.* 2. 9: 'Natus in patris egestate, educatus in sororis stupris, corroboratus in cæde civium, cuius primus ad rempublicam aditus (equitibus) R (omanis) occidendis fuit.'

130. **I found his mischiefs, sooner, with mine eyes.** Cf. Cicero *Pro Cælio*: 'Me ipsum, me, inquam, quondam pæne ille decepit . . . cuius ego facinora oculis prius, quam opinione manibus ante, quam suspicione deprehendi.'

143. Marginal note: **Catiline sits downe, and Cato rises, from him.** That no one would sit by Catiline is recorded by Plutarch, *Cic.* 16. Cf. also Cicero, 1 *Cat.* 7: 'Adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt quod omnes consulares . . . simul atque adsedisti, partem istam . . . nudam . . . reliquerunt.'

150–155. Cf. Cicero, *Pro Mur.* 25: 'Dixit duo corpora esse reipublicæ, unum debile, infirmo capite; alterum firmum, sine capite: huic, si ita de se meritum esset, caput se vivo

non defuturum.' Also Plutarch, *Cic.* 14: '"What harm," said he, "when I see two bodies, the one lean and consumptive with a head, the other great and strong without one, if I put a head to that body which wants one?"'

157. **Remember who I am,** etc. Cf. 'ne existimarent, sibi patricio homini,' etc., quoted on page 181.

170. **Ate.** According to Hesiod, Até was the daughter of Eris (Strife). She typifies infatuation, especially infatuation with guilt as its cause and evil as its consequence.

171–462. These lines form in the main a rather close rendering of Cicero's first Catilinarian, with omissions of varying length. Jonson's method may be seen at a glance by a reference to the appendix on page 312. The parts omitted are there bracketed. For a discussion of Jonson as a translator, see Introduction.

214. **The iawes . . . of Hetruria.** Etruria lay west of the river Tiber and the Apennines, extending to the sea, and included the valley of the Arno. The headquarters of Catiline's army was Fæsulæ, the modern Fiesole, situated on a hill three miles northeast of Florence.

246. **Was, on the fifth (the Kalends of Nouember).** W.'s emendation is undoubtedly right, and the line should read: *on the fifth o' the Kalends of November.* Q2 omits the parenthesis, but lacks the *o.*' The *Kalends*, being the first day of the month, cannot possibly be reconciled with the fifth, except by reading as above.

252. **Against a publique reed.** 'Reed here means "a public decree," "a warning that might be read." So Bacon in his translation of the *First Psalm*:

> Who never gave to wicked reed
> A yielding and attentive ear.'—C.

The meaning in Bacon is rather 'advice.' I take *reed* here to mean 'advantage, weal,' so that *publique reed* is almost equivalent to the Latin 'res publica.' Sweet defines *reed* (*ræd*) as 'sound policy,' 'benefit' (*Stud. Dict. of A.–S.*).

331. **Which hang but til next Ides.** That is, until the

money-lenders call in teir loans. We have an instance in these verses of Horace:

> Hæc ubi locutus foenerator Alfius,
> Iam iam futurus rusticus,
> Omnem redegit idibus pecuniam,
> Quæret kalendis poenere.—W. (*Epod.* 2. 67 ff).

333. **Balls.** Fire-balls, probably made of tow, soaked in pitch or oil.

353. **TANTALVS.** See Pindar, *Ol.* 1. 37 ff.; Ovid, *Met.* 4. 457–8. **TITYVS.** See Hyginus, *Fab.* 55; Ovid, *Met.* 4. 456–7.

382. **AVRELIAN WAY.** This highway, known as the Great Coast Road, extended from the Porta Ianiculensis (later the Porta Aurelia) to the coast at Alsium, thence following the shore of the Mare Inferum, along Etruria and Liguria, by Genoa, as far as Pisa.

400, 401. **I would not giue the Fencer use of one short houre.** 'Fencer' here is probably best rendered by the Italian term *bravo*, a hired assassin, a bully. Cf. *Twelfth Night* 3. 4. 307: 'They say he has been fencer to the Sophy.'

417. **Where.** Whereas. Cf. 1 *Hen. VI* 5. 5. 47:

> His wealth doth warrant a liberal dower,
> Where Reignier sooner will receive than give.

Also *Coriolanus* 1. 1. 104:

> Where the other instruments
> Did see, and hear, devise, instruct, walk, feel.

422. **As human bodies, labouring with feuers,** etc. The old theory of medicine—abandoned, indeed, only in this present generation—held that water and cold applications tended ultimately to increase fevers; and the method of curing fevers was by a 'sweating' process.

440–443. **The gentlemen of Rome,** etc. These lines are a paraphrase of two omitted bits in 1 *Cat.* 8. 21 (*vide supra*): 'Sed etiam illi equites Romani . . . quorum ego vix abs te iam diu manus ac tela contineo.'

462–480. Cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 31, quoted in note to this Act,

THE SENATE, the lines 'Sed ubi ille assedit' to 'Ad hoc maledicta.'

480. **A burgesse sonne of Arpinum.** Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 8. 237:

> Hic novus Arpinus, ignobilis et modo Romæ
> Municipalis eques.

Lines 480–488 repeat the sentiment of Cæsar's speech to Metellus in Lucan, *Phars.* 3. 138–141:

> Non usque adeo permiscuit imis
> Longus summa dies, ut non, si voce Metelli
> Serventur leges, malint a Cæsare tolli.

486. **Rude, and undigested heape.** Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1. 7: 'Rudis indigestaque moles.'

494–495. Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 3. 134–6:

> Vanam spem mortis honestæ
> Concipis: haud, inquit, iugulo de polluet isto
> Nostra, Metelle, manus.

497–499. Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 3. 136–7:

> Dignum te Cæsaris ira
> Nullus honos faciet.

510. **The common fire, rather then mine own.** Cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 31, quoted in note, THE SENATE:

> 'Quoniam quidem circumventus, . . . ab inimicis præceps ago, incendium meum ruina restinguam.'

516. **See that the common-wealth receiue no losse.** 'Senatus decrevit DARENT OPERAM CONSULES NE QUID RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPIAT' (Sallust, *Cat.* 29). The regular formula of a senate-resolution entrusting the safety of the state to the consuls was, 'Videant consules nequid respublica detrimenti capiat'; it exempted the consuls from all obligation to attend to the ordinary forms of law, and gave then rather summary power over citizens intriguing against the republic. In 1 *Cat.* 2, Cicero mentions several instances where the consuls promptly put offenders to death under the powers of this resolution, a notable in-

stance being that of Caius Gracchus. See also Cicero, 1 *Cat.* 2 and *Pro Mur.* 25, and Plutarch, *Cic.* 15.

524. **CRASSVS, and this CAESAR here ring hollow.** It has been mentioned before that Crassus and Cæsar were both under suspicion of secretly favoring and abetting Catiline's schemes. Plutarch, *Cæsar* 7, mentions the suspicion as to Cæsar, but attaches no great credence to it. Sallust, *Cat.* 48 and 49, mentions both Crassus and Cæsar in this connection, but evidently disbelieves the evidence. Asconius Pedianus, in his comments on *In Tog. Cand.* (*Argumentum*), speaking of Catiline's and Antonius' candidacies for the consulship, says, 'Coierant enim (ambo, ut) Ciceronem consulatu deicerent, adiutoribus usi firmissimis M. Crasso et C. Cæsare.' This however, is indefinite. At best, it means nothing more than that Cæsar und Crassus preferred Catiline to Cicero, and there is in it no evidence that they knew of his plot. Many respectable Romans supported Catiline for office who would have been horrified had they known his designs (see Cicero, *Pro Coelio* 6). Suetonius, *Iulius* 9, mentions some gossip of a conspiracy in which Cæsar and Crassus were said to have been involved at the time of the former's ædileship, but no mention is made of Catiline. The whole story, such as it is, rest as upon no better evidence than that of Tanusius, whom Seneca calls a fool; Bibulus, whom Cicero termed spiteful; and Curio, whom Cicero held very cheap. The only thing which lends any real color to the suspicion is Cæsar's determined stand (on which all the authorities agree), in Act 5, against the execution of the plotters. That Cæsar, however, and Crassus, too, would gladly have seen Catiline succeed up to a certain point, where they themselves might step in and seize control, can scarcely be doubted.

CATILINE, LENTVLVS, etc. The scene that follows, placed by G. in Catiline's house, is based on Sallust, *Cat.* 32, 39, and 34:

'Dein se ex curia domum proripuit: ibi multa secum ipse volvens, quod neque insidiæ consuli procedebant, et ab incendio intelligebat urbam vigiliis munitam, optimum

factum credens exercitum augere, ac prius quam legiones scriberentur antecapere quæ bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo, ceterisque quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent, opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent, cædem, incendia, aliaque belli facinora parent: sese prope diem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum.

'Iisdem temporibus Romæ Lentulus, sicuti Catilina præceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se, aut per alios sollicitabat; neque solum cives, sed cujusque modi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret.

'At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, præterea optimo cuique litter asmittit: "Se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunæ cedere, Massiliam in exilium proficisci; non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti respublica quieta foret, neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur." '

**STATILIVS.** Nothing further than what is recorded in the play is known of Lucius Statilius, except that he was of the equestrian order.

558. **Massilia.** This was a Greek city, now Marseilles, founded B. C. 600. By reason of its friendship to Rome, it was allowed to preserve its autonomy, and to exercise unhampered its own constitution.

565. **My better Genius.** By identifying Cethegus here with his good genius, or 'guardian angel,' Catiline pays him a marked compliment.

572. **A valiant man is his own . . . fortune.** Cf. Terence, *Phorm.* 1. 4. 26: 'Fortes fortuna adiuvat.'

576. **Dealt, by VMBRENVS, with the ALLOBROGES.** This circumstance is mentioned in Sallust, *Cat.* 40: 'Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum requirat, eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli, existimans, publice privatimque ære alieno oppressos, prætera quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse.'

578. **Is discontent with the great vsuries.** 'Postquam illos videt "queri de avaritia magistratum"' (Sallust, *Cat.* 40).

579–580. **And haue made complaints . . . but all vaine.** '[Postquam illos videt] accusare senatum, quod in eo auxilii nihil esset; miseris suis remedium mortem exspectare' (Sallust, *Cat.* 40).

583. **Still watching after change.** Cf. Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* 4. 5: '[Galli] novis plerumque rebus student.'

591. **Soone, at SEMPRONIA'S house.** 'Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat, neque aliena consilii propter Semproniam' (Sallust, *Cat.* 40).

597. **Let me kill all the Senate, for my share.** 'Cethegus semper querebatur . . . facto, non consulto, in tali periculo, opus esse; seque, si pauci adiuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum' (*ibid.*).

**SANGA.** See note on 3. 40.

600–612. The basis for these lines is Sallust, *Cat.* 41:

'Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In altera parte erat æs alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriæ; at in altera majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa præmia. Hæc illis volventibus tandem vicit fortuna reipublicæ. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangæ, cuius *patrocinio* civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis præcepit, ut studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur, dentque operam uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant.'

606. **And being told, there was small hope of ease.** Sallust, *Cat.* 40, thus describes the conversation between Umbrenus and the ambassadors: 'Umbrenus . . . requirere coepit, "quem exitum tantis malis sperarent?" Postquam illos videt "quere de avaritia magistratum, accusare senatum quod in eo auxilii nihil esset: miseriis suis remedium mortem exspectare": "At ego," inquit, "vobis, si modo viri esse vultis, rationem ostendam qua tanta ista mala effugiatis." Hæc ubi dixit, Allobroges in maximam spem adducti Umbrenum orare, uti sui misereretur.'

612. **The fortune of the common-wealth hath conquer'd.** So Sallust, *Cat.* 41: 'Tandem vicit fortuna reipublicæ.'

614. **One that had had negotiation.** 'Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatium notus erat, atque eos noverat' (Sallust, *Cat.* 40).

619. **A happy, wish'd occasion.** This, and the next two lines, were evidently suggested by Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 2: 'Facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum, quodque ego semper optabam ab dis immortalibus, tota res non solam a me, sed etiam a senatu, et a vobis manifesto deprehenderetur.'

627. **By one Vmbrenvs.** 'P. Umbreno cuidam' (Sallust, *Cat.* 40).

635. **To hazard certainties for aire.** Cf. 'incerta pro certis' (Sallust, *Cat.* 14 and 20).

640. **The Senate haue decreed,** etc. 'Præterea [senatus] decernit, uti consules delectum habeant; Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet' (Sallust, *Cat.* 36).

642. **And haue declar'd both him, and MANLIVS traytors.** 'Hæc ubi Romæ comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostes indicat' (Sallust, *Cat.* 36).

643–644. **METELLVS CELER hath alreadie giuen Part of their troops defeate.** Some of Catiline's lieutenants, whom he had sent to pave the way for trouble in the provinces, became over-hasty, and aroused suspicion by their nocturnal meetings and their transportation of armor and weapons. Q. Metellus Celer, the prætor, apprehended a number of these, and imprisoned them, under decree of the senate. No actual battle is mentioned, however. See Sallust, *Cat.* 42.

644. **Honors are promis'd:** '[Senatus] ceteræ multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere' (Sallust, *Cat.* 36).

645. **Rewards propos'd.** 'Ad hoc [senatus addidit] "si quis indicavisset de coniuratione, quæ contra rempublicam facta erat, præmium servo libertatem et sestertia centum: libero impunitatem eius rei, et sestertia ducenta" ' (Sallust, *Cat.* 30).

653. **Not onely any fact, but any practice.** Cf. Cicero,

2 *Cat.* 12: 'Cuius ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero.'

CICERO, SANGA. Why G. should place this scene in the house of Brutus, where the conspirators are shortly to meet, I cannot imagine. It is evident that the consul's own home is meant. Line 674, *We are to meet anone, at BRVTVS house*, shows clearly that this scene cannot be laid at the home of Brutus.

673–674. **ALL. We are to meete anone, at BRVTVS house. CIC. WHO? DECIVS BRVTVS? He is not in Rome.** 'Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat, neque aliena consilii propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat' (Sallust, *Cat.* 40).

676. **Well, faile you not to meete 'hem,** etc. 'Cicero . . . legatis præcepit, at studium coniurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur, dentque operam uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant' (Sallust, *Cat.* 41).

682. **I would haue you preuent.** Anticipate, promise before it is asked. This meaning of *prevent* is a literal translation of the Latin (*pre* + *venio*). Cf. *Alchem.* 2. 1 (*Wks* 4. 57): 'Prevent your day at morning.'

691. **Their letters to your Senate.** See note to 770, *infra*.

SEMPRONIA, LENTVLVS, etc. This interview is on the authority of Sallust, *Cat.* 44: 'Sed Allobroges . . . per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt.' **VOLTVRTIVS.** Titus Volturcius was a native of Crotona.

718. **As honorable spies,** etc. Thucydides never uses this exact term with reference to ambassadors, but none the less leaves no doubt as their purpose. An alliance being proposed by the Egesteans, for example, Athens sent 'envoys' to find out whether the Egesteans really had the money to support an expedition to Sicily, as they had claimed. See *Thucydides*, tr. Jowett, 6. 6, 8, 46. Again, the Lacedæmonians, before taking up an alliance with Chios, dispatched a 'commissioner . . . to see whether the Chians had as many ships as they said, and whether the power of the city was equal to her reputation' (*ibid.* 8. 6).

725. **I, at smock-treason.** *I* is again the affirmative 'aye.' *Smock-treason* evidently means 'marital infidelity.'

731. **HIPPOLYTVS.** Hippolytus was the son of Theseus and Hippolyta. Poseidon sent a bull from the deep, which so terrified the horses of Hippolytus as he was driving on the shore, that they dragged him, hopelessly entangled in the reins, to death. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 47.

755. **CAPANEVS.** Capaneus was one of the seven heroes who marched against Thebes. For daring to defy Jove, he was struck dead by lightning while scaling the walls, and his body left to hang burning. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 71.

760–761. **And made the world Despaire of day.** Cf. Lucan, *Phar.* I. 543:

> Gentesque coegit
> Desperare diem.

748. **Or be a moment, to our enterprise.** Moment here can only be rendered by its literal Latin meaning, 'moving power,' 'impetus.'

770. **To aske our letters.** '[Allobroges] ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio, postulant iusiurandum, quod signatum ad cives preferant: aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse' (Sallust, *Cat.* 44).

772–775. 'Lentulus cum his T. Volturcium quemdam, Crotoniensem, mittit, uti Allobroges prius quam domum pergerent cum Catilina, data et accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse, Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat' (Sallust, *Cat.* 44).

778. **To lay the enuie of the warre on CICERO.** '[Lentulus cum ceteris] constituerant uti, cum Catilina in agrum Fæsulanium cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis concione habita querebatur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissimi invidiam optimo consuli imponeret' (Sallust, *Cat.* 43).

779. **That all but long for his approach.** 'Ad hoc mandata [Lentulus] verbis dat: "... In urbe parata esse quæ iusserit; ne cunctetur ipse proprius accedere"' (Sallust, *Cat.* 44).

783–792. 'C. Antonius, pedibus æger, quod proelio adesse nequibat M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit . . . Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus, aut præfectus, aut legatus, aut prætor cum magna gloria fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat: ea commemorando militum animos accendebat' (Sallust, *Cat.* 59).

796. **I'le trust it to the manage.** Cf. Kyd, *Soliman and Perseda* 3. 1. 119:

> Wilt thou be our Lieutenant there,
> And further us in manage of these wars?

799. **Will stop their course, for Gallia.** 'At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno præsidebat . . . ac sub ipsis radicubus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti' (Sallust, *Cat.* 57).

801. **The Miluian bridge.** 'This bridge (Ponte Molle) was about two miles from Rome. It was built about half a century before this period by Æmilius Scaurus.'—G.

807–811. 'Igitur confirmato animo vocari ad sese iubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, item Q. Coeparium quemdam . . . Sine mora veniunt' (Sallust, *Cat.* 46). See also Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 3: 'Cimbrum Gabinium statim ad me, nihildum suspicantem, vocavi, deinde item arcessitus est L. Statilius et post eum C. Cethegus: tardissime autem Lentulus venit.'

823. **Though I heare ill.** This is the Latin idiom, *male audire*, 'to be ill spoken of.' Cf. *Alchem.* 1. 1 (*Wks.* 4. 13): 'I do not hear well.' The play on words here is on *bene audire.*

PRAETORS etc. This scene is based on Sallust, *Cat.* 45: 'His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte qua proficiscerentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino prætoribus imperat, uti in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant; rem omnem aperit, cujus gratio mittebantur; cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. Illi, homines militares, sine tumultu præsidiis collocatis, sicuti præceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venere,

et simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine mora prætoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus ceteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit: deinde ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinium *obtestatus*, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus, ac vitæ diffidens, veluti hostibus sese prætoribus dedit.'

864. **In euery doome.** 'Doome' here is evidently private judgment, rather than formal, public decision. In its use in the latter sense, it almost always implies an adverse judgment.

Cf. Spenser, *F. Q.* 4. 10. 21:

> The which did seeme, unto my simple doome,
> The onely pleasant and delightful place.

**CHORVS.** Although there is little direct translation here, the sentiments expressed agree in the main with the state of mind of the plebs as expressed in Sallust, *Cat.* 37 and 48, *q. v.* In the first passage, they welcome the conspiracy; in the second, they laud Cicero. In *Pro Mur.* 17, Cicero also enlarges on the fickleness of the mob.

893–894. **To loue disease: and brooke the cures Worse, then the crimes.** From Livy's preface to his history: 'Ad hæc tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra, nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est.' Cf. Prologue to *Alchem.* (*Wks.* 4. 10):

> Howe'er the age he lives in doth endure
> The vices that she breeds, above their cure.

## ACT V

The opening scene has for its basis a few lines in Sallust, *Cat.* 59: 'Ille [Petreius] cohortes veteranas, quas tumultus causa conscripserat, in fronte, post eas ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse equo circumiens, unum quemque nominans appelat, hortatur, rogat, ut meminerint se contra latrones inermes pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis certare.' The details of the speech are filled in from various sources.

3. **Kept from the honor of it, by disease.** The 'disease' was a feigned lameness or gout. Antonius did not wish to oppose Catiline, whom he had once favored, in person. See Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* 37. 40.

5–11. Cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 52: 'Neque [agitur] quantum aut magnificum imperium populi Romani sit, sed hæc, cuiuscumque modi videntur, nostra an nobiscum una hostium futura sint.'

11–12. **The quarrell is not, now, of fame or tribute,**
**Or of wrongs, done vnto confederates.**

Cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 52: 'Non agitur de vectigalibus neque de sociorum injuriis.'

15. **For the rais'd temples of th'immortal gods.** '[Di immortales] jam non procul, ut quondam solebant, ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic præsentes suo numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta defendunt' (Cicero, 2 *Cat.* 13),

16–17. **For all your fortunes, altars, and your fires,**
**For the deare soules of your lou'd wiues, and children.**

Cf. 'Pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis,' quoted *supra* from Sallust, *Cat.* 59; also, Cicero, 4 *Cat.* 9: 'Præterea de vestra vita, de conjugum vestrarum atque liberorum anima, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris, hodierno die vobis judicandum est.'

20. **Against such men.** The description of Catiline's troops that follows is based on a similar one in Cicero, 2 *Cat.* 8–11.

22. **SYLLA'S old troops.** These come third in Cicero's classification: 'Tertium genus est . . . Hi sunt homines ex iis coloniis, quas Fæsulis Sulla continuit . . . qui se insperatis, repentinisque pecuniis sumptuosis, insolentiusque jactarent. Hi . . . in tantum æs alienum inciderent, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab imperis excitandus' (Cicero, 2 *Cat.* 9). See also Sallust, *Cat.* 16: 'Aes alienum per omnis terras ingens erat, et . . . plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriæ veteris memores civile bellum exoptabant.'

32. **The second sort.** This is Cicero's sixth and last class: 'Postremum autem genus est: . . . quod proprium est Catilinæ, de ejus delectu, immo vero de complexu ejus, ac sinu . . . quorum omnis industria vitæ et vigilandi labor in antelucanis cenis expromitur . . . Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati non solum amare et amari, neque saltare et cantare, sed etiam sicas vibrare, et spargere venena didicerunt' (Cicero, 2 *Cat.* 10).

38–42. Cf. Horace, *Od.* 3. 24. 54 ff.:

> Nescit equo rudis
> Hærere ingenuus puer
> Venarique timet, ludere doctior,
> Seu Græco iubeas trocho
> Seu malis vetita legibus alea.

43. **And these will wish more hurt to you, then they** bring you. From Cicero's description of his first class (2 *Cat.* 8): 'Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod . . . magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rempublicam quam arma laturi.'

44. **The rest are a mixt kind,** &c. This description is partly from that of Cicero's fifth class, partly from that of his sixth. Cf. 'Quintum genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum. . . . In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudicique versantur' (Cicero, 2 *Cat.* 10).

54. **And pour'd, on some inhabitable place.** I. e., 'uninhabitable'; in this sense it is used by Shakspere:

> Even to the frozen ridges of the Alps,
> Or any other ground inhabitable.—W. (*Richard II.* 1. 1. 65.)

55. **Where the hot sunne, and slime breeds nought but monsters.** For the following parallel passages, and original source of the curious belief that the sun could hatch monsters from slime, I am indebted to Professor Cook (see his note in the New York *Evening Post*, March 17, 1913):

'Your serpent of Egypt is bred now of your mud by

the operation of your sun; so is your crocodile' (*Ant. and Cleop.* 2. 7. 30 ff.). Cf. also *ibid.* 1. 3. 69; and Milton, *P. L.* 10. 529 ff.:

> Now Dragon grown, larger than whom the Sun
> Ingendered in the Pythian vale on slime,
> Huge Python.

Cf. also Spenser, *F. Q.* 1. 1. 31. The source is Ovid, *Met.* 1. 416 ff. Ll. 434–38 are especially applicable here:

> Ergo ubi diluvio tellus lutulenta recenti
> Solibus æthereis, almoque recanduit æstu;
> Edidit innumeras species; partimque figuras
> Retulit antiquas; partim nova monstra creavit.

61. There are several Biblical echoes in this passage. Cf. Ecclesiasticus 24. 8, 11: 'And he that made me caused my tabernacle to rest. . . . Likewise in the holy city he gave me rest'; and Luke 16. 19 ff.—the parable of Lazarus and Dives. See also Psalms 61. 4.

71. **Their letter.** Plutarch, *Cic.* 15, mentions the letter-incident, but credits Crassus with all good faith in turning the letters over to Cicero. Crassus received, according to Plutarch, a packet of letters, directed to different persons. The one to himself was unsigned, but gave warning to him to leave the city before the massacre intended by Catiline began. Terrified at this news, he delivered the entire packet to Cicero. The consul the next day in open senate delivered the letters, asking that they be read. All gave the same account of the conspiracy.

77. **I haue . . . ply'd him.** Suetonius, *Iulius* 17, mentions Cæsar's giving intelligence of Catiline to Cicero.

86. **I will not be wrought to it.** Cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 49: 'Sed . . . Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque precibus neque gratia neque pretio Ciceronem impellere potuere, uti per Allobroges aut alium C. Cæsar falso nominaretur.'

101. **Send LENTVLVS forth,** etc. 'Consul Lentulum . . . ipse manu tenens in senatum perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in ædem Concordiæ venire iubet' (Sallust, *Cat.* 46).

THE SENATE. This scene is taken largely from Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 26, which was addressed to the people, not to the senate, relating the measures taken by the magistracy for the safety of the state, and giving an account of a meeting of the senate just concluded.

105. **Breake these letters.** The letters (Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 3) were delivered to the prætors unbroken on the arrest of the conspirators at the Milvian bridge, and Cicero would not consent to open them except in open senate.

105–108. Cf. 'etenim, Quirites, si ea quæ erant ad me delata reperta non essent, tamen ego non arbitrar, in tantis reipublicæ periculis, esse mihi nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam' (Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 3).

109. **The weapons . . . from CETHEGVS house.** 'C. Sulpicium prætorem . . . misi, qui ex ædibus Cethegi si quid telorum esset efferret: ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiorum extulit' (Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 3).

117–118. **Although the greatnesse of the mischiefe . . . Hath often made my faith small.** Cf. Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 2: 'Quoniam auribus vestris, propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris, minorem fidem faceret oratio mea.'

119–129. Almost literally from Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 2: 'Nam tum, cum ex urbe Catilinam ejiciebam (non enim jam vereor huius verbi invidiam, cum illa magis fit timenda, quod vivus exierit) sed tum, cum illum exterminari volebam, aut reliquam conjuratorum manum simul exituram . . . putabam. Atque ego, ut vidi quos maximo furore et scelere esse inflammatos sciebam eos nobiscum esse, et Romanæ remanisse, in eo omnis dies noctis que consumpsi ut quid agerent . . . sentirem . . . ut . . . rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum demum animus saluti vestræ provideretis, cum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis.'

131. **Bring in VOLTVRTIVS,** &c. 'Volturcium cum legatis introducit' (Sallust, *Cat.* 46).

133–148. Sallust, *Cat.* 47, has the following: 'Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid aut de causa consilii habuisset, primo fingere alia, dissimulare de coniuratione; post ubi fide publica dicere iussus est, omnia,

uti gesta erant, aperit docetque se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Cæpario socium adscitum.' The main source of information here, however, seems to be Cic. 3 *Cat.* 4: 'Introduxi Volturcium . . . fidem publicam jussu senatus dedi: hortatus sum, et ea quæ sciret sine timore indicaret. Tum ille dixit, cum vix se ex magno timore recreasset, ab Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et litteras, ut servorum præsidio uteretur, et ad urbem quam primum cum exercitu accederet: id autem eo consilio, ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus quem ad modum descriptum distributumque erat incendisset, cædemque infinitam civium fecissent, præsto esset ille, qui et fugientis exciperet, et se cum his urbanis ducibus conjungeret.'

148–151. For this speech of the Allobroges, cf. Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 4: 'Introducti autem Galli jus jurandum sibi et litteras ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem data esse dixerunt, atque ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio esse præscriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam quam primum mitterent.'

155–167. 'Tabellas proferri jussimus, quæ a quoque dicebantur datae. Primum ostendimus Cethego signum: cognovit. Nos linum incidimus: legimus . . . Tum Cethegus, qui paulo ante aliquid tamen de gladiis ac sicis, quæ apud ipsum erant deprehensa, respondisset, dixissetque se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, recitatis litteris debilitatus atque abjectus conscientia repente conticuit' (Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 5).

168–194. 'Introductus est Statilius: cognovit et signum et manum suam. Recitatæ sunt tabellæ in eandem fere sententiam: confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo, et quæsivi cognosceretne signum. Adnuit. "Est vero," inquam, "notum quidem signum, imago avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui amavit unice patriam et civis suos; quæ quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit." Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque litteræ. Si quid de his rebus dicere vellit, feci potestatem. Atque ille primo quidem negavit; post autem aliquanto, toto jam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit; quæsivit a Gallis quid

sibi esset cum eis, quam ob rem domum suam venissent, itemque a Volturcio. Qui cum illi breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem ad eum quotiensque venissent, quæsissentque ab eo nihilne secum de fatis Sibyllinis[1] locutus, tum ille subito, scelere demens, qua conscientiæ vis esset ostendit. Nam cum id posset infitiari, repente opinionem omnium confessus est' (Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 5).

197. **AVTRONIVS,** etc. 'Tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Ser. Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos præterea in ea coniuratione esse' (Sallust, *Cat.* 47).

202. **I was drawne in, by... CIMBER.** '[Volturcius] docet se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Cæpario socium adscitum' (Sallust, *Cat.* 47).

204. **Where is thy visor?** In its sense, as here, of 'pretence,' *visor* also appears in *Epicoene,* 2. 2 (*Wks.* 3. 367): 'Off with this vizor.'

204–209. 'Ita [Lentulum] non modo ingenium illud et discendi exercitatio, qua semper valint, sed etiam propter vim sceleris manifesti atque deprehensi impudentia, qua superabat omnis, improbitasque defecit' (Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 5).

210. **The enginer of all.** Cf. Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 3: 'Horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorum Cimbrum Gabinium.'

211. **I know nothing,** etc. 'Gabinius deinde introductus, cum primo impudentur respondere coepisset, ad extremum nihil ex eis quæ Galli insimulabant negavit' (Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 5).

214. **Is there a law for't,** etc. Cf. Martial, *Epig.* 2. 60:

Iam mihi dices
'Non licet hoc.' Quid? tu quod facis, Hylle, licet?

227. **Or beg, o' the bridges.** The bridges were the usual stations for Roman beggars. Thus Juvenal: 'Nulla crepido vocat? Nusquam pons et tegetis pars dimidia brevior?'

[1] 'Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fatis Sibyllinis, aruspicumque responsis se esse tertium Cornelium, ad quem regnum hujus urbis, atque imperium pervenire esset necesse . . . eundemque dixisse, fatalem hunc esse annum ad interitum hujus esset . . . post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus' (Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 4).

(*Sat.* 5. 8–9.)—G. Cf. also Juvenal, *Sat.* 4. 116, and *Sat.* 14. 135.

230–231. **By such a cloud of witnesses.** Cf. Hebrews 12. 1: 'Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses.'

233–240. Almost literally from Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 7: 'Quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilina, nec mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum, nec L. Cassii adipem, nec Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescandam. Ille erat unus timendus ex his omnibus, sed tamdiu, dum mœnibus urbis continebatur.'

240 ff. **Where was there A people grieu'd,** &c. Suggested by Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 9: 'Quid vero? Ut homines Galli ex civitate male pacata, quæ gens una restat quæ bellum populo Romano facere posse, et non nolle videatur, spem imperii ac rerum maximarum ultro sibi a patriciis hominibus oblatam neglegerent vestramque salutem suis opibus anteponerent: id nonne divinitus esse factum putatis?'

247–272. These lines follow closely, in parts so closely as to be virtually a translation, sections of Cicero, 4 *Cat.* Cf. 'Atque eo tempore hujus avus Lentuli, vir clarissimus, armatus Gracchum est persecutus. Ille etiam grave tum volnus accepit, ne quid de summa republica deminueretur: hic ad evertenda reipublicæ fundamenta Gallos arcessit, servitia concitat, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego, et ceteros civis interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, totam Italiam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinæ' (Cicero, 4 *Cat.* 6). Also: 'Videor enim mihi videre hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum, atque arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem. Cerno animo sepulta in patria miseros atque insepultos acervos civium. Versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi, et furor in vestra cæde bacchantis. Cum vero mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse ex fatis se sperasse confessus est, purpuratum esse huic Gabinium, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam, tam lamentationem matrum familias, tum fugam virginum Vestalium perhorresco' (Cicero, 4 *Cat.* 6).

281–286. This disposition of the conspirators in custody

is given in Sallust, *Cat.* 47: 'Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum ædilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Carsari, Cabinius M. Crasso . . . traduntur.'

289. **Let LENTVLVS put off his Praetor-ship.** It was contrary to law, or at least to custom, to imprison one of the higher officers during his tenure of office. See Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 6: 'Nam P. Lentulus, . . . quamquam patefactis indiciis, confessionibus suis, judicio senatus non modo prætoris jus, verum etiam civis amiserat . . . tamen magistratu se abdicavit, ut, quæ religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat, quo minus C. Glanciam, de quo nihil nominatim erat decretum, prætorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.' See also Sallust, *Cat.* 47: 'Senatus decernit, uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis habeantur.'

293. **What do you decree to th' ALLOBROGES?** 'Dum hæc in senatu aguntur et dum legatis Allobrogum et T. Volturcio, conprobato eorum indicio, præmia decernuntur' (Sallust, *Cat.* 50).

298. **What to VOLTVRTIVS?** See note on 293.

300. **Want made thee a knave.** Cf. Horace, *Od.* 3. 24, 42–3:

> Magnum pauperis opprobrium iubet
> Quidvis et facere et pati.

301–302. **Let FLACCVS, and POMPTINIVS, the Praetors, Haue publike thankes.** 'Deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus prætores, quod eorum opera forti fidelique usus essem, merito ac jure laudantur' (Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 4).

305–306. **Whose vertue, counsell, watchfulness, and wisedome, Hath freed the common-wealth.** Cf. 'quod virtute, consilio, providentia mea respublica maximis periculis sit liberata' (Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 6).

306–307. **And without tumult, Slaughter, or bloud, or scarce raysing a force.** Cf. 'Erepti sine cæde, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione' (Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 10). Also: 'Sine tumultu, sine dilectu, sine armis, sine exercitu . . . rempublicam liberavi' (Cicero, *Pro Sul.* 11).

309–310. Cf. note on 5. 15.

312. **A ciuicke garland:** 'Mihi, L. Gellius his audientibus civicam coronam debere a republica dixit' (Cicero, *In Pis.* 3).

313. **He is the onely father of his contrey.** 'Me Q. Catulus . . . frequentissimo senatu parentem patriæ nominavit' (Cicero, *In Pis.* 3). In Plutarch, *Cic.* 22, the people hail Cicero as 'savior and founder of his country.' This was after the death of the conspirators. In Plutarch, *Cic.* 23, Cato calls him 'father of his country.' Appian, *Civil Wars* 2. 1. 7, also states that it was Cato who first caused Cicero to be called by the title in the text. This also was after the conspirators had been executed.

314–319. 'Atque etiam supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato contigit. Et his verbis decreta est: "quod urbem incendiis, cæde civis, Italiam bello liberassem" ' (Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 6). The uniqueness of this fact has been overlooked by most of the authorities. See, however, Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* 37. 36.

321. **First of the civil robe.** 'He means, the first who obtained a victory over the enemies of the State, without changing the garments usually worn in time of peace. It is well known that Cicero valued himself much on this singular circumstance.'—W.

325. Cf. 'Et si non minus nobis jucundi atque illustres sunt ei dies quibus conservamur, quam illi quibus nascimur, quod salutis certa lætitia est, nascendi incerta condicio; et quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur . . . profecto, quoniam illum qui hanc urbem condidit ad deos immortalis benevolentia famaque sustulimus, esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debebit is qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit' (Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 1).

336. **Let it be added to our Fasti.** See Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* 37. 36: 'And over them [the conspirators] a sacrifice and period of festival was decreed, — something that had never before happened from any such cause.'

337. **Here's one TARQVINIVS taken.** The incident of Tarquinius, including Crassus' charge that Cicero invented the whole matter himself, is given in Sallust, *Cat.* 48: 'Post

eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant . . . Præterea se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinæ nuntiaret, ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus aliique ex conjuratione deprehensi terrerent, eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur. Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, summa potentia, alii rem incredibilem rati, pars tametsi verum existumabant, tamen quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant indicem falsum esse, deque ea re postulant uti referatur. Itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit, Tarquini indicium falsum videri, eumque in vinculus retinendum, neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem esset mentitus. . . . Ipsum Crassum ego postea prædicantem audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.'

340. **Some lying varlet.** *Varlet* was originally a youth of noble or knightly birth, serving an apprenticeship in knightly exercises and accomplishments while awaiting knighthood; hence (because such youths served as pages or personal servants to the knights who had charge of them), a body-servant or attendant; hence, any menial; finally, a term of contempt or reproach, 'rascal, rogue.' The word survives in a changed sense in *valet*.—*C. D.*

351. **Here is a libell, too.** *Libell* originally was 'a little book' (*libellus*, diminutive of *liber*); then a written paper of any sort. Specifically, in law (and it is in this sense that Jonson here uses it), it was a statement of the charge or charges on which a prosecution took place. The incident of Vectius, including the part of Curius in it, and the stoppage of the latter's pay, are given in Suetonius, *Iulius* 17: '[Caesar] inter socios Catilinæ nominatus . . . a. L. Vettio Judice, et . . . a Q. Curio: cui, quod primus consilia conjuratorum detexterat, constituta erant publice præmia. Curius, e Catilina se cognovisse, dicebat: Vettius etiam chirographum ejus, Catilinæ datum, pollicebatur. Id vero Cæsar nullo modo

tolerandum existimans, cum, implorato Ciceronis testimonio, quædam de se conjuratione ultro ad eum detulisse, docuisset, ne Curio præmia darentur effecit.'

367–420. The circumstances surrounding Catiline's speech to his army are given in Sallust, *Cat.* 57: 'Sed Catilina postquam videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugæ neque præsidi ullam spem, optimum factu ratus in tali re fortunam belli temptare, statuit cum Antonio quam primum confligere. Itaque contione advocata hujusce modi orationem habuit' (the speech follows). The speech itself is lifted almost bodily from Sallust, *Cat.* 58. I give it here complete as found in Sallust, bracketing the omissions made by Jonson:

'Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere, neque ex ignavo strenuum neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet. Quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequidquam hortere; timor animi auribus officit. Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi; simul uti causam mei consili aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi nobisque cladem attulerit, quoque modo, dum ex urbe præsidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc vero quo loco res nostræ sint, juxta mecum omnes intellegitis. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia obstant. Diutius in his locis esse, si maxume animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiundum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis, et cum proelium inibitis, memineritis vos divitias, decus, gloriam, præterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris vostris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt, commeatus abunde, municipia atque coloniæ patebunt: si metu cesserimus, eadem illa advorsa fient, neque locus neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint. Præterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet; nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus, illis supervacaneum est pro potentia paucorum pugnare. (Quo audacius aggrediamini, memores

pristinæ virtutis.) Licuit vobis cum summa turpitudine in exsilio ætatem agere; potuistis nonnulli Romæ amissis bonis alienas opes exspectare: quia illa foeda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, hæc sequi decrevistis. (Si hæc relinquere voltis, audacia opus est;) nemo nisi victor pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, cum arma, quibus corpus tegitur, ab hostibus avorteris, ea vero dementia est. (Semper in proelio eis maxumum est periculum, qui maxume timent; audacia pro muro habetur.) Cum vos considero, milites, et cum facta vostra æstumo, magna me spes victoriæ tenet. (Animus, ætas, virtus vostra me hortantus; præterea necessitudo, quæ etiam timidos fortes facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohinent angustiæ loci.) Quod si virtuti vostræ fortuna inviderit, cavete, inulti animam amittatis, neu capti potius sicut pecora trucidemini, quam virorum more pugnantes cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis.'

It will be noticed that Jonson does not follow exactly the order of Sallust. For instance, in ll. 378–79, Jonson skips from 'Scitis quidem,' etc., to 'Nunc vero quo loco,' etc.; but catches up the omitted passage in ll. 380–85. Again, in ll. 403–09, he skips from 'Præterea milites,' etc., to 'Licuit vobis,' etc., giving the substance of the omitted portion in ll. 409–10.

381. **Expect.** 'Await' (Lat. *exspecto*). Cf. 563, *infra*.

412 ff. **Methinks I see Death,** etc. 'The image here given is extremely sublime, and approaches very nearly to those terrible graces, which the critic has attributed to Homer amongst the ancients, and which Shakespeare possessed in a manner superior to any modern whatsoever.'—W.

420 ff. This meeting of the senate is described in full in Sallust, *Cat.* 50–55. Cicero here delivered his fourth oration against Catiline. See also Plutarch, *Cic.* 20–21.

424–432. Cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 50: 'Liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli diversis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiundum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinem, qui pretio rem publicam vexare soliti erant. Cethegus autem per nuntios familiam atque libertos

suos, lectos et exercitatos in audaciam, orabat ut grege facto cum telis ad sese irrumperent.' See also Cicero, 4 *Cat.* 8.

433. **With present counsailes.** In 4 *Cat.* 3, Cicero urges action 'ante noctem.' Counsailes = 'schemes, plans.' Cf. 4. 183 and 5. 377.

434. **We haue done what we can.** Sallust, *Cat.* 50, states that Cicero had distributed armed bands around the city. Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* 37. 35, says that Cicero had the praetors administer the oath of enlistment to the people, so that they might instantly be called upon to act.

436. **What is your pleasure, Fathers, shall be done?** 'Consul . . . convocato senatu refert, quid de eis fiere placeat' (Sallust, *Cat.* 50).

437–446. 'Video adhuc duas esse sententias: unam D. Silani, qui censet eos, qui hæc delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos (Sallust, *Cat.* 50, and all the authorities represent Syllanus as voting for capital punishment) . . . eos qui nos omnis, qui populum Romanum, vita privare conati sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen exstinguere, punctum temporis frui vita et hoc communi spiritu non putat oportere' (Cicero, 4 *Cat.* 4).

437. **SYLLANVS . . . Consul next design'd.** It was customary for the magistrate-elect to give his judgment first, as one who would have most to do with the execution of the decrees, and so most likely to give careful consideration to new measure (see Appian, *Civil Wars* 2. 5). All the authorities state that it so happened in this case, but Jonson is undoubtedly following Sallust, *Cat.* 55, as 'designed' in the text echoes *designatus* in the Latin.

444. **An article of time, or eye of light.** 'Article' here means 'moment'; its sense is literally 'a joining' (Lat. *articulus*), that is, a nick of time joining two successive periods. 'Eye' is used in a very figurative sense, denoting a minute portion.

447–498. The speech of Cæsar here given is condensed from the one attributed to him in Sallust, *Cat.* 51. Cf. 'Omnes homines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa offici-

unt. . . . Hoc item vobis providendum est, patres conscripti, ne plus apud vos valeat P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus quam vostra dignitas ; neu magis iræ vostræ quam famæ consulatis. Nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium approbo ; sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat, eis utendum censeo, quæ legibus comparata sunt. . . . Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt ; fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt : qui magno imperio præditi in excelso ætatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est ; neque studere, neque odisse, sed minume irasci decet ; quæ apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. . . . D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certo scio, quæ dixerit, studio rei publicæ dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere ; eos mores eamque modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia ejus mihi non crudelis . . . quid enim in tales homines crudele fieri potest ? . . . sed aliena a re publica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus aut injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus poenæ novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, cum præsertim diligentia clarissumi viri, consulis, tanta præsidia in armis. De poena possum equidem dicere id quod res habet ; in luctu atque miseriis mortem ærumbarum requiem, non cruciatum esse, eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere, ultra neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse. . . . Placet igitur eos dimitti et augeri exercitum Catilinæ ? Minume ; sed ita censeo, publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxume opibus valent ; neu quis de eis postea ad senatum referat neve cum populo agat.'

479. **Abhorring.** The 'from' in the construction is evidently influenced by the preposition *ab* in the Latin *abhorrens ab*.

484–485. Cf. Cicero, 4 *Cat.* 7 : 'Alter intelligit mortem . . . non esse supplicii constitutam, sed . . . laborum ac miseriarum quietem.'

498. **'Tis good,** etc. Cæsar's speech seemed for a time

to win the day for mercy, all the authorities agree, until the speech of Cato swung the pendulum back.

499–500. **Fathers, I see your faces, and your eyes All bent on me.** Cf. 'Video, patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrum ora atque oculos esse conversos' (Cicero, 4 *Cat.* 1).

500–508. Cf. 'Video adhuc duas esse sententias: . . . uterque et pro sua dignate et pro rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur . . . atque hoc genus poenæ sæpe in improbas civis in hac republica esse usurpatum recordatur. . . . Vincula vero et ea sempiterna certa ad singularem poenam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt' (Cicero, 4 *Cat.* 4).

508–516. 'Habetis eum consulem qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet, et ea quæ statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere et per se ipsum præstare possit' (Cicero, 4 *Cat.* 4). 'Quæcumque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeatur' (Cicero, 4 *Cat.* 1). 'Deinde, si quid obtigerit, æquo animo paratoque moriar. Nom neque turpis mors forti viro postest accidere, neque immatura consulari, nec misera sapienti' (Cicero, 4 *Cat.* 2).

516. **I spake but as I thought.** According to Plutarch, *Cic.* 21, Silanus did not apologize merely, but retracted his sentence of death. Suetonius, *Iulius* 14, states that he qualified his opinion, trying to make it appear that it had been more harshly construed than he meant; for it was not considered honorable to change outright a decision publicly rendered.

519–567. The speech of Cato is abridged from the one in Sallust, *Cat.* 52. Cf. 'Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum, qui patriæ, parentibus, aris atque focis suis bellum paravere. Res autem monet cavere ab illis magis quam, quid in illos statuamus, consultare. Nam cetera maleficia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores. . . . Ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnes perditum eant. Bene et composite C. Cæsar paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea, quæ de inferis memorantur, divorso itinere malos a bonis loca tætra, inculta, foeda atque for-

midolosa habere. Itaque censuit pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos; videlicet timens, ne, si Romæ sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis aut a multitudine conducta per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe et non per totam Italiam sint, aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit; sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis timere. . . . Vos cunctamini etiam nunc et dubitatis, quid intra moenia deprensis hostibus faciatis? Misereamini censeo, . . . deliquere homines adulescentuli per ambitionem . . . atque etiam armatos dimittatis; ne ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam convortat. . . . Sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium exspectantes cunctamini, videlicet dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rem publicam sæpe in maxumis periculis servavere. Non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prospera omnia cedunt. Ubi socordiæ te atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequidquam deos implores. . . . Postremo, patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis; sed undique circumventi sumus. . . . Quo magis properandum est.' It will be noted that Jonson does not follow the exact order of the Latin text. The phrase 'ne illi sanguinem,' for instance, is not taken up till ll. 559–60; and the section beginning 'Sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium exspectantes cunctamini,' which is the basis of ll. 542–50, precedes in Jonson the section 'Vos cunctamini,' which it follows in the Latin. Cf. also Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 23.

576. **'Tis a loue-letter.** 'The anecdote in the text is taken from Plutarch. As the fact is indisputable, it must ever be considered as a curious trait in the manners of the times. Servilia, the lady whose amorous impatience induced her to send a *billet doux* to the senate-house at this important moment, was the mother of M. Brutus—and, as the scandal-mongers of her days affirmed, by Caesar.'—G. See Plutarch, *Cato Min.* 24.

578. **Hold thee, drunkard.** Take the letter. The Greek (Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 24) reads, 'Take it, sot.' Plutarch says that Cato threw the letters back at Cæsar with these words. For a similar use of *hold*, cf. *All's Well* 4. 5. 46: 'Hold thee, there's my purse.' *Thee* is the dative. See Abbott, *Shakes. Gram.*, § 212.

579. **You'll repent,** etc. 'Cæsar was right; Cicero was prosecuted about four years afterward for putting Lentulus to death, by Clodius, and escaped condemnation, by going into voluntary exile. The sentence of death was indeed, as Jonson states, awarded by the senate; but this was not deemed of sufficient validity to contravene a fundamental law of the republic.'—G.

580. **CAESAR shall repent it.** 'Ac [Cæsar] ne sic quidem impedire rem destitit, quoad usque manus equitum Romanorum, quæ armata præsidii causa circumstabat, immoderatius perseveranti necem comminata est: etiam strictos gladios usque eo intentans, ut sedentem una proximi deseruerint, vix pauci complexu togaque objecta protexerint. Tunc plane deterritus, non modo cessit, sed in reliquum anni tempus curia abstinuit' (Suetonius, *Iulius* 14). See also Plutarch, *Cæsar* 8. Plutarch says that according to a current story the young knights would have killed Cæsar, had Cicero given the nod of approval, but this he refused. Plutarch, however, considers this story as doubtful, since Cicero does not mention it in the history of his consulship.

584. **Spinther.** 'This was a nickname given Lentulus from a fancied resemblance to a low comedian then on the stage.'—G.

585–608. Sallust, *Cat.* 55, thus tells of the end of the conspirators: 'Postquam . . . senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optumum factu ratus noctem quæ instabat antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, triumviros quæ ad supplicium postulabat, parare iubet. Ipse præsidiis dispositis Lentulum in carcerem deducit. Idem fit ceteris per prætores. Est in carcere locus, quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum adscenderis ad lævam, circiter XII pedes humi depressus. . . . In eum locum postquam demissus est

Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium,[1] quibus præceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. . . . De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cæpario, eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.' There is in this no hint of the individuality in the manner of meeting death that Jonson brings out.

The account in Plutarch, *Cic.* 22, differs slightly in detail: 'After this, Cicero went out with the senate to the conspirators; they were not all together in one place, but the several prætors had them, some one, some another, in custody. And first he took Lentulus from the Palatine, and brought him by the Sacred Street, through the middle of the market-place, a circle of the most eminent citizens encompassing and protecting him. The people, affrighted at what was doing, passed along in silence, especially the young men. . . . Thus, passing from the market-place, and coming to the goal, he delivered Lentulus to the officer, and commanded him to execute him; and after him Cethegus, and so all the rest in order, he brought and delivered up to execution.'

593–594. **And let it be Said, he was once.** 'The allusion is historical. In returning from the prison, where the executions took place, Cicero observed a number of suspicious characters collected in the Forum, on which he exclaimed aloud, "FUERUNT!" and thus put an end to their machinations.'—G. See Plutarch, *Cic.* 22.

609. **And call it happy Rome, thou being Consul.** 'Cato has not much improved the poetry of his friend's memorable line, though he has avoided the jingle: "O fortunatam natam, me consule, Romam."'—G.

This line, probably from the *De Suo Consulatu*, but possibly from the *De Suis Temporibus*, is satirically quoted by Juvenal, *Sat.* 10. 122.

610. **Great parent of thy countrie.** See note on 5. 313. Cf. also Juvenal, *Sat.* 8. 243–244: 'Sed Roma parentem, Roma Patrem Patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit.'

610–616. The hint for these words of Cato is found in Cicero, 3 *Cat.* 11 and 4 *Cat.* 11: 'Quibus pro tantis rebus,

[1] Cf. *reuengers Of capitall crimes* 585–586.

Quirites, nullum ego a vobis præmium virtutis . . . præter quam hujus diei memoriam sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnis triumphos meos, omnia ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriæ, laudis insignia condi et collocari volo. . . . Memoria vestra, Quirites, res nostræ alentur, sermonibus crescent, litterarum monumentis inveterascent et corroborabuntur' (3 *Cat.* 11); 'Pro meis . . . studiis, proque hac . . . ad conservandam rempublicam diligentia, nihil aliud a vobis, nisi hujus temporis, totiusque mei consulatus memoriam postulo: quæ dum erit vestris fixa mentibus, tutissimo me muro sæptum esse arbitrabor' (4 *Cat.* 11). The details which Jonson supplies, however, are entirely lacking, and the author's reliance on any source here is but slight.

623. **In such warre, the conquest still is black.** The thought seems to be taken from Lucan, *Phars.* 7. 122–3:

> Omne malum victi, quod sors feret ultima rerum;
> Omne nefas victoris erit.

624. **The house of Concord.** This beautiful temple stood in the Forum, near the foot of the Capitol.

629–688. Sallust, *Cat.* 59–61, gives a full account of this battle, in which Catiline was defeated and killed.

630. **Two armies.** 'Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia, obstant' (Sallust, *Cat.* 58).

632. **To make vs th' object of his desperate choise.** 'Catilina, postquam videt . . . copiis hostium esse clausum, statuit cum Antonio . . . confligere' (Sallust, *Cat.* 57).

633. **Wherein the danger almost paiz'd the honor.** Almost all the later editions have *poiz'd*, which is not at all the same word. *Paiz'd* is from the Old French *peser*, 'to weigh,' and here means 'counterbalanced.' See Middleton, *Family of Love* 2. 4. 231: 'Whose want of store . . . could not peize the unequal scale of avarice.'

637. **The world her quarrie.** Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 7. 46: 'Fatisque trahentibus orbem.'

645–646. **And all his host had standing in their lookes, The palenesse of the death, that was to come.** Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 7. 129–30:

Multorum pallor in ore
Mortis venturæ est.

651–655. The thought here is very similar to a bit from Lucan, *Phars.* 1. 100–107:

Qualiter undas
Qui secat et geminum gracilis mare separat Isthmos
Nec patitur conferre fretum, si terra recedat,
Ionium Aegæo frangat mare: sic, ubi sæva
Arma ducum dirimens miserando funere Crassus
Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras,
Parthica Romanos solverunt damna furores.

659. **They knew not, what a crime their valour was.** Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 6. 147:

Et qui nesciret in armis
Quam magnum virtus crimen civilibus esset.

663. **ENYO.** A name given to Bellona, the goddess of war, who drove Mars' chariot. Here the word is war itself, personified.

668. **Couer'd that earth ... with their trunks.** 'Sed confecto prœlio tum vero cerneres, quanta audacia quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam fere quem quisque vivos pugnando locum ceperat, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat' (Sallust, *Cat.* 61).

669–689. Sallust gives the following account of Catiline's death: 'Catilina postquam fusas copias seque cum paucis relictum videt, memor generis atque pristinæ suæ dignitatis in confertissumos hostis incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur' (*Cat.* 60); 'Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in voltu retinens' (*Cat.* 61). Cf. this last passage especially, with 685 in the text.

672. **Like a Lybian Lyon.** See Lucan, *Phars.* 1. 206 ff.:

Sicut squalentibus arvis,
Aestiferæ Libyes viso leo comminus hoste
Subsedit dubius, totam dum collegit iram;
... Tum torta levis si lancea Mauri
Hæreat, aut latum subeant venabula pectus,
Per ferrum tanti securus volneris exit.

697–698. **Only the memorie of this glad day.** Cf. quotations in note on 610–616, *supra*.

678. **MINERVA holding forth MEDVSA'S head.** See Ovid, *Met.* 4. 12. 769 ff.

The story of Minerva's fight with the giant Enceladus is told by Claudian, *Carm.* 53. 91 ff., in a passage which Jonson here closely imitates. Cf.

> Tritonia virgo
> Prosiliit ostendens rutila cum Gorgone pectus;
> Ille procul subitis fixus sine vulnere nodis
> Ut se letifero sensit durescere visu. . . .
> (Et steterat iam pæne lapis)—Quo vertimur? inquit,
> Quæ serpit per membra silex? quis torpor inertem
> Marmorea me peste ligat? Vix pauca locutus,
> Quod timuit, iam totus erat.

In this connection, cf. also Lucan, *Phars.* 9. 638–642, 654–658:

> Quem, qui recto se lumine vidit,
> Passa Medusa mori est? rapint dubitantia fata,
> Prævenitque metus: anima periere retenta
> Membra; nec emissæ riguere sub ossibus umbræ. . . .
> Cœloque timente
> Olim Phlegræo, stantis serpente gigantes,
> Erexit montes, bellumque immane deorum
> Pallados in medio confecit pectore Gorgon.

688–691. **A braue, bad death,** etc. Cf. Florus, *Epit.* 4. 1: 'Pulcherrima morte, si pro patria sic concidisset.'

694–695. **All my labours . . . and my dangers.** 'Multis meis laboribus et periculis'—a common phrase in Cicero. See 3 *Cat.* 1; *Pro Mur.* 2.

**The principall Tragoedians.** These were all members of Shakspere's company. For detailed accounts of their lives and activities, see Collier, *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Poetry* 3. 257 ff.

**Master of Revells.** At first a mere professional organizer of court-amusements (Stowe, *Survey of London*, ed. Morley, p. 122), the master of revels came later to be an absolute censor and dictator (see *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.* 6. 276). Jonson is thought by some to have coveted the office (see Dekker, *Satiromastix*, ed. Scherer, p. 47, and note).

# APPENDIX

## A.

### Commendatory Verses and Memoranda in Q 1.

*To my friend Mr. Ben Ionson,*
*vpon his Catiline.*

IF thou hads't itch'd after the wild applause
Of common people, and hads't made thy Lawes
In writing, such, as catch'd at present voyce,
I should commend the thing, but not thy choyse.
But thou hast squar'd thy rules, by what is good;
And art, three Ages, yet, from vnderstood:
And (I dare say) in it, there lies much Wit
Lost, till thy Readers can grow up to it,
Which they can nere outgrow, to find it ill,
But must fall backe againe, or like it still.

*Franc: Beaumont.*

*To his worthy friend Mr. Ben Ionson.*

HE, that dares wrong this Play, it should appeare
Dares vtter more, then other men dare heare,
That have their wits about 'hem: yet such men,
Deare friend, must see your Booke, and reade; and then,
Out of their learned ignorance, crie ill,
And lay you by, calling for mad *Pasquill*,
Or *Greene's* deare *Groatsworth*, or *Tom Coryate*,
The new *Lexicon*, with the errant Pate;
And picke away, from all these severall ends,
And durtie ones, to make their as-wife friends
Beleeue they are transslaters. Of this, pitty,
There is a great plague hanging o're the Citty:
Vnlesse she purge her iudgment presently.
But, O thou happy man, that must not die
As these things shall: leaving no more behind
But a thin memory (like a passing wind)
That blowes, and is forgotten, ere they are cold.
Thy labours shall out live thee; and, like gold

Stampt for continuance, shall be currant, where
There is a Sunne, a People, or a Yeare.
*Iohn Fletcher.*

*To his worthy beloued friend Mr.*
*Ben Ionson.*

HAD the great thoughts of Catiline bene good,
The memory of his name, streame of his bloud,
His plots past into acts, (which would haue turn'd
His infamy to Fame, though *Rome* had burn'd)
Had not begot him equall grace with men,
As this, that he is writ by such a Pen:
VVhose aspirations, if great *Rome* had had,
Her good things had bene better'd, and her bad,
Vndone; the first for ioy, the last for feare,
That such a muse should spread them, to our Yeare.
But woe to vs then: for thy laureat brow
If *Rome* enioy'd had, we had wanted now.
But, in this Age, where Iigs and dances move,
How few there are, that this pure worke approve!
Yet, better then I rayle at, thou canst scorne
Censures, that die, ere they be throughly borne.
Each Subiect thou, still thee each Subiect rayses.
And whosoeuer thy Booke, himselfe disprayses.
*Nat. Field.*

In a copy of this Quarto in the possession of W. Bang, on the last leaf, occur some interesting memoranda. I here reproduce the parts concerning *Catiline*. These same memoranda are found in a Dulwich College Ms., in the *London*, etc., of David Hughson (Edward Pugh), 1805–09. Although the memoranda are not in Jonson's hand, the existence of two copies argues for their authenticity. The script, says Bang, is of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The 'Ld. T-r' is undoubtedly Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset and Baron Buckhurst (see *D.N.B.*). The parts to the left of the parentheses are Bang's conjectures—the edge of the sheet having been cut into by the binder.

Me)m. I laid the plot of my Volpone, & wrote most of it, after a present of 10 dozen of
)sack, from my very good Ld T–r; that Play I am positive will last to Posterity,

)d when I & envy are friends, with applause.
Me)m. The first speech in my Cataline, spoken by Scylla's Ghost, was writ after I parted from my) Boys at the Devil-Tavern; I had drunk well that night, and had brave notions. There is one scen)e in that Play which I think is flat; I resolve to mix no more water with my wine.

(For the remainder, and discussion, see *Mod. Lang. Rev.* I. 111 ff.)

## B.

### Prologue and Epilogue to Q 3.

### A PROLOGUE TO CATILINE,

To be merrily spoken by Mrs. Nell, In an *Amazonian* Habit.

A Woman's prologue! This is vent'rous News;
But we, a Poet wanting, Crav'd a muse.
Why should our Brains lye fallow, as if they
Without His fire, were mere Promethean Clay?
In Natur's Plain-Song we may bear our parts;
Although we want choise Descant from the Arts.
Amongst Musicians; so the Philomel
May in Whild-Notes, though not in Rules excell.
And when i' the weaker Vessel Wit doth lye;
Though into Froth it will work out and flye.
But Gentlemen, you know our formal way,
Although we're sure 'tis false, yet we must say,
Nay Pish, Nay Fye, in troth it is not good,
When we the while, think it not understood:
Hither repair all you that are for Ben:
Let th' House hold full, We're to carry't then.
Slight not this Femal Summons; Phoebus-rayes,
To Crown his Poets turn'd our sex to Bayes.
And Ladies sure you'l vote for as entire,
(This plot doth prompt the prologue to conspire)
Such inoffensive Combination Can
But show, who best deserve true worth in Man.
And You, with Your great Author taking Part:
May chance be thought, like him to know the Art,

Vouchsafe then, as you look, to speak us fair,
Let the Gallants dislike it, if they dare:
They will so forfeit the repute of Judges,
You may turn Am'zons, and make them Drudges,
Man's claim to Rule is, in his Reason bred;
This masculine Sex of Brain may make you Head.
'Tis real Skill, in the Right place to praise;
But more, to have the Wit, not to write Playes.

The 'Mrs. Nell' referred to was Nell Gwynn.

At the end of the volume occurs this:

The Epilogue.
By the same.

No Dance, no song, no Farce? His lofty Pen,
How e're we like it, doubtless wrote to Men.
Height may be his, as it was Babel's fall;
There Bricklayers turn'd to Linguists ruin'd all.
I'de ne're spoke this, had I not heard by many,
He lik't one silent woman, above any:
And against us had such strange prejudice;
For our applause, he scorned to write amiss,
For all this, he did us, like wonders, prize;
Not for our Sex, but when he found us Wise.
A Poet runs the Gantlet, and his slips,
Are bare expos'd to regiments of Whips;
Among those, he to Poetick Champions Writ;
As We to gain the Infancy of Wit.
Which if they prove the greatest Number, then
The House hath cause to thank Nell, more than Ben.
Our Author might prefer your praise, perhaps,
Wee'd rather have your Money, than your Claps.

## C.

### Jonson's Use of Cicero's First Oration against Catiline.

Only a small amount of the Latin text is here reproduced, as the aim is merely to show Jonson's omissions—these are bracketed. Three dots are to be taken to mean that up to the point of their occurrence Jonson has used the Latin text *in toto*.

. . . O tempora! o mores! senatus hæc intelligit, consul videt: hic tamen vivit. Vivit? imno vero etiam in sena-

tum venit, fit publici consilii particeps, notat et designat oculis ad cædem unum quemque nostrum: nos autem, viri fortes, satis facere rei publicæ videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus. (Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci iussu consulis iam pridem oportebat, in te conferri pestem istam, quam tu in nos iam diu machinaris. An vero vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicæ privatus interfecit: Catilinam orbem terræ cæde atque incendiis vastare cupientem nos consules perferemus? Nam illa nimis antiqua prætereo, quodque Servilius Ahala Spurium Mælium novis rebus studentem manu sua occidit.) ... (Decrevit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius consul videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet: nox nulla intercessit,— interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspitiones C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, maioribus, occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis. Simili senatus consulto C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus est permissa res publica: num unum diem postea L. Saturninum tribunum plebis et C. Servilium prætorem mors ac rei publicæ poena remorata est?) At vero nos vicesimum iam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. (Habemus enim huiusce modi senatus consultum, verum) inclusum (in tabulis, tamquam) in vagina (reconditum), quo ex senatus consulto confestim interfectum te esse, Catilina, convenit.

... Muta iam istam mentem, mihi crede, obliviscere caedis atque incendiorum: (teneris undique; luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia, quae etiam mecum licet recognoscas.)

... Magno me metu liberabis, dum modo inter me atque te murus intersit. (Nobiscum versari iam diutius non potes: non feram, non patiar, non sinam. Magna dis immortalibus habenda est atque huic ipsi Iovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi huius urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam tætram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei publicæ pestem totiens iam effugimus: non est sæpius in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicæ. Quam diu mihi consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me præsidio, sed privata

diligentia defendi; cum proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in campo et competitores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi conatus tuos nefarios amicorum præsidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato; denique, quotienscumque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti, quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicæ esse coniunctam Nunc iam aperte rem publicam universam petis; templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam denique totam ad exitium ac vastitatem vocas. Qua re quoniam id, quod est primum et quod huius imperii disciplinæque maiorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo, faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam si te interfici iussero, residebit in re publica reliqua coniuratorum manus; sin tu, quod te iam dudum hortor, exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa sentina rei publicae.)

. . . (Nihil agis, nihil adsequeris, neque tamen conari ac velle desistis.) Quotiens tibi iam extorta est sica ista de manibus! quotiens vero excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est! tamen ea carere diutius non potes. Quæ quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere. (Nunc vero quæ tua est ista vita?) . . . Servi mehercule mei si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: (tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? et, si me meis civibus iniuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, carere me aspectu civium, quam infestis oculis omnium conspici mallem: tu, cum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium iustum et iam diu tibi debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque vulneras, eorum aspectum præsentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui neque eos ulla ratione placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes; nunc te patria, quæ communis est parens omnium nostrum, odit ac metuit et iam diu nihil te iudicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare: huius tu neque auctoritatem verebere nec iudicium sequere nec vim pertimesces? Quæ tecum, Catilina, sic agit et quodam modo tacita loquitur: "Nullum iam aliquot annis facinus

exstitit nisi per te, nullum flagitium sine te; tibi uni multorum civium neces, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum impunita fuit ac libera; tu non solum ad negligendas leges et quæstiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: nunc vero me totam esse in metu propter unum te, quidquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri, nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse quod a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum. Quam ob rem discede atque hunc mihi timorem eripe, si est verus, ne opprimar, sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere disinam." Hæc si tecum, ut dixi, patria loquatur, nonne impetrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit? Quid, quod tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti? quod vitandæ suspitionis causa ad M'. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti? a quo non receptus etiam ad me venire ausus es atque, ut domi meæ te adservarem, rogasti. Cum a me quoque id responsum tulisses, me nullo modo posse iisdem parietibus tuto esse tecum, qui magno in periculo essem, quod iisdem mœnibus contineremur, ad Q. Metellum prætorem venisti; a quo repudiatus ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Metellum demigrasti: quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum te diligentissimum et ad suspicandum sagacissimum et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui se ipse iam dignum custodia iudicarit?)

... (Refer, inquis, ad senatum; id enim postulas et, si hic ordo sibi placere decreverit te ire in exilium, obtemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam, id quod abhorret a meis moribus, et tamen faciam ut intelligas, quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina,) libera rem publicam metu, in hanc vocem exspectas, proficiscere.

... (At si hoc idem huic adolescenti optimo P. Sestio, si fortissimo viro M. Marcello dixissem, iam mihi consuli hoc ipso in templo iure optimo senatus vim et manus intulisset.) De te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant; cum patiuntur, decernut; cum tacent, clamant: (neque hi solum, quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima, sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ceterique

fortissimi cives, qui stant circum senatum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre et studia perspicere et voces paullo ante exaudire potuisti. Quorum ego vix abs te iam diu manus ac tela contineo, eosdem facile adducam, ut te hæc, quæ iam pridem vastare studes, relinquentem usque ad portas prosequantur.

Quamquam quid loquor ? Te ut ulla res frangat ? tu ut umquam te corrigas ? tu ut ullam fugam meditere ? tu ut exsilium cogites ? Utinam tibi istam mentem di immortales duint ! etsi video, si mea voce perterritus ire in exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiæ nobis, si minus in præsens tempus recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. Sed est tanti, dum modo ista sit privata calamitas et a rei publicæ periculis seiungatur. Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut legum poenas pertimescas, ut temporibus rei publicæ cedas, non est postulandum.) . . . Quam ob rem, ut sæpe iam dixi, proficiscere (ac, si mihi, inimico ut prædicas tuo, conflare vis invidiam, recta via perge in exsilium : vix feram sermones hominum, si id feceris ; vis molem istius invidiæ, si in exsilium iussu consulis ieris, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meæ laudi et gloriæ mavis, egredere cum importuna sceleratorum manu, confer te ad Manilum, concita perditos cives, secerne te a bonis, infer patriæ bellum, exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non eiectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos esse videaris.) . . . (Tu ut illa carere diutius possis, quam venerari ad cædem proficiscens solebas, a cuius altaribus sæpe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti ? Ibis tandem aliquando, quo te iam pridem ista tua cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat ; neque enim tibi hæc res adfert dolorem, sed quamdam incredibilem voluptatem. Ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas exercuit, fortuna servavit. Numquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem nisi nefarium concupisti. Nanctus es ex perditis atque ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe derelictis conflatam improborum manum. Hic tu qua lætitia perfruere ! quibus gaudiis exsultabis ! quanta in voluptate bacchabere, cum in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam neque videbis !

Ad huius vitæ studium meditati illi sunt qui feruntur labores tui, iacere humi non solum ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad facinus obeundum, vigilare non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum etiam bonis otiosorum. Habes, ubi ostentes illam tuam præclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiæ rerum omnium, quibus te brevi tempore confectum esse senties. Tantum profeci tum, cum te a consulatu reppuli, ut exsul potius temptare quam consul vexare rem publicam posses, atque ut id, quod est abs te scelerate susceptum, latrocinium potius quam bellum nominaretur.

Nunc, ut a me, patres conscripti, quamdam prope iustam patriæ querimoniam detester ac deprecer, percipite, quæso, diligenter quæ dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate.) . . . (Quid tandem te impedit ? Mosne maiorum ? At persæpe etiam privati in hac re publica perniciosos cives morte multaverunt. An leges, quæ de civium Romanorum supplicio rogatæ sunt ? At numquam in hac urbe ii, qui a re publica defecerunt, civium iura tenuerunt. An invidiam posteritatis times ? Præclaram vero populo Romano referes gratiam, qui te, hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione maiorum, tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit, si propter invidiæ aut alicuius periculi metum salutem civium tuorum negligis. Sed si quis est invidiæ metus, non est vehementius severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertiæ ac nequitiæ pertimescenda. An cum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt, tum te non existimas invidiæ incendio conflagraturum ?) . . . (Etenim si summi viri et clarissimi cives Saturnini et Gracchorum et Flacci et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam honestarunt, certe verendum mihi non erat, ne quid hoc parricida civium interfecto invidiæ mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quod si ea mihi maxime impenderet, tamen hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem.) Quamquam non nulli sunt in hoc ordine, (qui aut ea quæ imminent non videant, aut ea quæ vident dissimulent ;) qui spem Catilinæ mollibus sententiis aluerunt coniurationemque nascentem non credendo corro-

boraverunt: quorum auctoritatem secuti multi, non solum improbi, verum etiam imperiti, (si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie factum esse dicerent.) . . . (Hoc autem uno interfecto intelligo hanc rei publicæ pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse.) . . . (Etenim iam diu, patres conscripti, in his periculis coniurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciæ maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit.) . . . Ut sæpe homines ægri morbo gravi, cum æstu febrique iactantur, si aquam gelidam biberint, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque adflictantur, (sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica, relevatus istius poena, vehementius vivis reliquis ingravescet.) Qua re secedant improbi, etc.

# GLOSSARY

Reference to the text is by act and line. Obsolete words or definitions are marked †, archaic ‖, technical or unnaturalized words, *.

**A,** *prep.* (A worn-down proclitic form of O. E. preposition, *an, on.*) Indicating time: in, on, by. (Here prefixed to O. E. adverbial genitive *nihtes*) 2. 18, 2. 65. Cf. Abbott, §§ 24, 140.

**Abhorring,** *adj.* †Abhorrent, repulsive, repugnant. Construed with *from*, which is occasionally omitted. 5. 479.

‖**Afore,** *adv.* (Adv. of time, from O. E. *on* + *foran* = *on foran*, 'in front, in advance'). Before. 1. 339.

‖**Aile,** *v.* To have something the matter with one. 1. 505.

**Article,** *n.* A moment. 5. 444.

**Artificer,** *n.* †An artful or wily person; a trickster. 4. 191.

**Aspire,** *v.* †To attain. 3. 516.

†**Ayreling,** *n.* A young, thoughtless person. 1. 167.

‖**Bane,** *n.* (Common Teutonic word, OE. *bana* = O. Fris. *bona*, OHG. *bano*, Dan. *bane*, &c., 'death, murder.') Here used in a strong sense, probably = deadly poison. 3. 215.

**Batch,** *n.* (M. E. *bache, bacche.*) Properly, a baking; the quantity of bread produced at one baking. Figuratively here, the sort or 'lot' to which a thing belongs by origin (as loaves do to their own batch). 4. 222.

**Bate,** *v.* To fall off in force or intensity. 3. 55.

†**Battaile,** *n.* Line of battle. 5. 672.

**Bawde,** *n.* A pander. 2. 275, *passim.*

**Beare,** *v.* †To have ill will to, have a resentment against (with 'hard,' 'heavy,' or 'heavily'). 4. 764.

**Begirt,** *v.* To surround. 3. 642.

**Bosome,** *adj.* Cherished in the bosom. 3. 727.

†**Bourd,** *v.* (O. F. *bourder* = jest, make game of.) To jest with, make game of, mock. 1. 512.

**Breake,** *v.* †Reveal, divulge (implying caution). *With* here has the sense of *to.* 3. 533.

**Broker,** *n.* †A pimp or pander. 2. 275.

**Brooke,** *v.* Endure, put up with. 3. 109, 4. 893, and in 3. 138: 'Brooke it deadly.' For 3. 138, 'she brookes not me,' see Notes.

**Carriage,** *n.* Deportment, behavior. 4. 737.

**Carry,** *v.* To win (a contest). 3. 101. To support, give validity to. 5. 96.

**Challenge,** *v.* To lay claim to, as a right. 3. 366.

**Chiefe,** *n.* Foremost authority. leader, ruler. 4. 676.

**Clowne,** *n.* A peasant. 1. 522.

**Coate,** *n.* Coat of arms. 2. 120,

**Cob-swan,** *n.* A male swan. 2. 180.

**Commodity,** *n.* †Advantage, profit. 3. 605.

**Community,** *n.* Social intercourse, communion. 1. 177. See Notes.

**Complexion,** *n.* †Constitution or habit of mind, disposition. 3. 322.

**|Complice,** *n.* Accomplice. 5. 257.
**Coniure,** *v.* To beseech, implore. 3. 677.
**Conniuence,** *n.* Tacit sanction. 1. 173.
**†Counsaile,** *n.* Advice. 3. 406. Scheme, plan. 4. 183, 377; 5. 433, 538.
**Conscience,** *n.* †Inward knowledge, consciousness. 1. 29, 4. 298.
**Counsell,** *n.* †Opinion. 3. 34; 4. 280. Advice. 4. 313; 5. 305, 547.
**Contemn,** *v.* To despise or scorn. 5. 108.
**Conuent,** *n.* †An assembly, meeting. 4. 295.
**Corne,** *n.* Grain. 5. 388.
**†Couetise,** *n.* Covetousness. 2. 331.
**Court,** *v.* To pay courteous attention to; to try to win favor with. 1. 111.
**Courtship,** *n.* Wooing. 2. 53.
**Coy,** *v.* *Phr. to coy it*: to affect shyness, to behave coyly. 1. 508, 2. 225.
**Crude,** *adj.* |Immature. *Ded.* 6.
**Crudity,** *n.* †See Notes. 2. 149.

**|Desart,** *n.* Worthiness of recompense; merit or demerit. 2. 382.
**Differ,** *v.* †Defer. 1. 425.
**Discourse,** *n.* |Conversation. 3. 282.
**Disposition,** *n.* Health; bodily well-being. 2. 214.
**Doome,** *n.* †Personal or private judgment, opinion. 4. 864.
**Dormice,** *n.* Small rodents of a family intermediate between squirrels and mice; in a transferred sense (Fr. *dormir*, 'to sleep'), dozing or sleepy persons. 1. 211.
**Drift,** *n.* |Scheme, plot, design. 3. 243.
**Dull,** *adj.* Gloomy. 1. 298.

**Enforce,** *v.* †To drive away by force. 1. 574.
**Engine,** *n.* Machine, implement, tool. 1. 144.
**Engiuer,** *n.* One who contrives, designs, or invents; an author, designer (often with sense of plotter, layer of snares). 5. 210.
**Engross,** *v.* To occupy entirely, absorb. 1. 347.
**Entrailes,** *n.* The inner parts of anything; internal contents. 2. 307.
**Enuy,** *n.* †Ill-will, malice, enmity. 1. 147; 4. 554; 4. 718; 4. 819; 5. 120.
**Errant,** *adj.* Used as an intensive with substantives of reproachful sense: thoroughgoing, unmitigated. 2. 18. It is usually spelled *arrant*.
**Even,** *adj.* Unruffled. 5. 512.
**Expect,** *v.* |Await (Lat. *expecto*). 5. 381.
**Expresse,** *v.* †To extort or elicit by pressure. 3. 209.
**Eye,** *n.* A minute portion. See Notes. 5. 444.

**Face,** *n.* Impence, effrontery, 'cheek.' 2. 377.
**Fact,** *n.* |Deed. 1. 490; 3. 82; 4. 321. †Crime. 1. 41; 3. 835; 4. 329; 5. 174; 5. 522.
**Fain,** *v.* †To picture to oneself, imagine (what is unreal). (Obsolete spalling of *feign*.) 1. 154.
**Faine,** *adj.* Glad under the circumstances; glad or content to take a certain course in default of opportunity for anything better, or as the lesser of two evils. 2. 66.
**†Farder,** *adv.* Farther. 2. 142.
**†Fardest,** *adv.* Farthest. 1. 140.
***Farre-triumphed,** *adj.* See Notes. 3. 280.
**|Fell,** *adj.* Fierce, cruel, ruthless. 1. 492.
**Fencer,** *n.* †A hired or professional swordsman; a gladiator. 4. 401.

**Few,** *adj.* Phr. *in few*: in few words. 3. 491.
**Flout,** *v.* Mock, jeer. 2. 31.
**Fondly,** *adv.* Foolishly. 4. 409.
**Forbeare,** *v.* †To have patience with one. 4. 39.
**Force,** *v.* †To attach force or importance to. 1. 316. To overpower by force. 4. 485.
**Fore-thinke,** *v.* To consider or think of beforehand. 1. 342.
**Foole,** *n.* †A term used in endearment and tenderness (with a touch of pity). 2. 88.
**Fume,** *v.* †To emit as vapor. 3. 587.
**Foule,** *v.* To catch, hunt, shoot, or snare wildfowl. 1. 570.
**Frequent,** *adj.* †Assembled in great numbers, full. 4. 63.

**Gallant,** *n.* †Of a woman: a fashionably attired beauty. 2. 70.
**Gamester,** *n.* †A merry person, esp. one addicted to amorous sport. 2. 184. A gambler. 5. 41.
**Genius,** *n.* †Natural aptitude, coupled with more or less of inclination *to*, *for* (something). 4. 596. For 4. 565, see Notes.
**Girt,** *v.* ‖To encircle, besiege, blockade. 4. 432.
**Goe,** *v.* Phr. *goe on*: to make an attack. 1. 143.
**Gorget,** *n.* A piece of armor for the throat. 4. 92.
**Gratulate,** *v.* Congratulate. 3. 117.
**†Gyrlond,** *n.* Garland. 1. 434.

**Habites,** *n.* Customs. 1. 131. †Garments. 4. 35.
**Head,** *n.* Commander, head man, leader. 4. 488.
**Headie,** *adj.* Headstrong. 3. 729.
**Heaue,** *v.* †To move; to rouse the feelings of, agitate. 1. 134.
**†'Hem,** *pron. pl.* Them. 1. 127, 1. 152, *passim*. Cf. *C. D.* under *He*. Common in early modern Eng., in which it came to be regarded as contr. of the equiv. *them*, and was therefore in the 17th cent. often printed 'hem, 'em. (OE. *him*, *heom*; M. E. *Hem*, *ham*, *heom*, &c.)
**Hold,** *v.* †In the imperative, used in offering or presenting: 'Here, take it.' 5. 578. Reflexive: to restrain oneself, forbear. 5. 581.
**Honest,** *adj.* †Chaste. 2. 51.
**Honesty,** *n* †Chastity. 2. 52.
**Humor,** *n.* †Mood, temper. 2. 80. (Here, almost = *taste*.)
**Hundred,** *adj.* †Hundredth. 5. 153.

**I,** *interj.* †Affirmative: aye, yes. 1. 76; 1. 379; 1. 429; 2. 100; 350, etc.
**Ingrate,** *adj.* ‖Ungrateful. 3. 297.
**Inuade,** *v.* ‖To infringe, encroach on (property, liberties, &c.). 2. 374.
**Inhabitable,** *adj.* †Uninhabitable. 5. 54.
**Insolent,** *adj.* †Unaccustomed, unusual. 3. 259.

**Keepe,** *v.* ‖Dwell. 1. 554.
**†Kemb,** *v.* To comb. 1. 561.
**Kinde,** *n.* Nature. 1. 563.

**Laue,** *v.* †To draw (water) out or up; to bale. 1. 77.
**Leave,** *v.* †To cease. 1. 495; 3. 816.
**Let,** *v.* ‖Hinder. 3. 829.
**Libell,** *v.* ‖Statement of charges. See note on 5. 351.
**Like,** *v.* †To be pleasing. 1. 393.
**Loose,** *v.* †To lose. 1. 92. To relax. 3. 607.

**Maine,** *n.* Sea. 1. 126.
**Maine,** *adj.* †Very great. 4. 210.
**Make,** *v.* Phr. *to make on*: to hasten on. 3. 190.
**†Manage,** *n.* †Management. 4. 796.

**Mew,** *v.* To make the sound uttered by a cat. 4. 540.
**†Moe,** *adj.* More. 3. 53.
**Moment,** *n.* *Moving power. 4. 748.
**Muit,** *v.* Of a bird, to void the fæces. 3. 161.
**Mulct,** *v.* To punish by a fine. 5. 496.
**Muse,** *v.* †To wonder, marvel. 1. 217.
**Myriade,** *adv.* †A thousand-fold. 2. 168.

**Nephew,** *n.* †A grandson. 3. 627; 2. 366; 5. 614.
**†Nill,** *v.* To be unwilling. 1. 335.
**Note,** *n.* *Brand (Lat. *nota*). 4. 316.

**O,** *interj.* Here expressing sorrow = 'alas!' 3. 873.
**Obnoxious,** *adj.* *Phr. *obnoxious to*: subject to. 1. 542.
**Office,** *n.* Kindness, service. 3. 474.
**Ominous,** *adj.* Of the nature of an omen, portentous. 3. 566.
**Ope,** *adj.* Open. 3. 21.
**Orient,** *adj.* Brilliant, lustrous. 2. 105.
**Outcry,** *n.* †An auction. 2. 316.

**†Paize.** *v.* To be of equal weight with, counterbalance. 5. 633.
**Phant'sie,** *n.* Imagination. 1. 315.
**Phlegme,** *n.* †Anciently regarded as one of the four bodily 'humours,' described as cold and moist, and supposed, when predominant to cause constitutional indolence or apathy. 3. 740.
**†Pioner,** *n.* Pioneer. 3. 726.
**Plaine,** *v.* To bewail, mourn, lament. 4. 14.
**Portentous,** *adj.* Marvelous, monstrous. 4. 500.
**Practice,** *n.* †Treachery; trickery, artifice. 3. 242, 3. 829.
**Preuent,** *v.* †To meet beforehand or anticipate (an objection, desire, etc.). 4. 682.
**Prey,** *n.* ‖Booty. 1. 247.
**Priuate,** *n.* †A private or personal matter, business or interest. 3. 481.
**Prodigie,** *n.* †Monster. 4. 484.
**Proue,** *v.* †To approve. 4. 533. †To attempt. 5. 431.
**Prouide,** *v.* To make provision against in advance. 5. 524.
**Put vp,** *v.* To sheath (a sword, dagger, etc.). 2. 287.

**Quarter,** *n.* †Relations with, or conduct towards, another; *esp.* in phr. *to keep* (or hold) *good* (or fair) *quarter with*. 3. 667.

**Rate,** *n.* †Valuation, rating. 1. 568.
**Reed,** *n.* †See note on 4. 252.
**Religious,** *adj.* *Superstitious. See note on 3. 518.
**†Resiant,** *adj.* Resident; abiding. 4. 577.
**Resolue,** *v.* ‖To render lax in feeling or conduct. 3. 609.
**Rid,** *v.* To get rid of. 3. 535.
**Rise,** *v.* †Past part. of 'rise' = risen. 3. 272.
**Riss',** *v.* †Past tense of 'rise' = rose. 4. 358.

**Sacrament,** *n.* An oath or solemn engagement, especially one which is ratified by a ceremony. 1. 423.
**Sanction,** *n.* †A solemn oath or engagement. 1. 486.
**Savour,** *v.* To have some of the characteristics of. 2. 269.
**Scape,** *v.* to escape. 4. 805.
**Sciruely,** *adv.* Meanly, sorrily. 2. 228.
**Sense,** *n.* Discernment. 4. 811.
**Shelue,** *n.* Ledge. 3. 70.
**Sinke,** *n.* †A collective mass of unsavory or objectionable persons or matters. 3. 266; 4. 305.

**Sit,** *v.* Phr. *to sit upon*: to sit in judgment on. 2. 140.
**Sleek,** *v.* To make (skin, hair, &c.) smooth and glossy. 1. 562.
***Smock-treason,** *n.* Marital infidelity. 4. 725.
**Speake,** *v.* To declare, show. 5. 90.
**Spight,** *interj.* Expression of vexation. 2. 215. (Here = 'A plague on!')
**Spring,** *n.* An opening in a seam; a leak. 3. 69.
**Stale,** *n.* †A decoy. 3. 723.
**Starke,** *adj.* Stiff. 1. 302. Downright, complete. 1. 436.
**Start,** *v.* To escape. 4. 813.
**State,** *n.* †Estate. 5. 491.
**Stomack,** *v.* †To resent. 3. 137.
**Streight,** *adv.* †Straightway. 3. 466.
**Streight,** *n.* †Difficulty. 5. 629.
**Subtle,** *adj.* Dainty, delicate. 2. 346.
**Sure,** *adv.* ‖Steadily, calmly. 3. 110.
**Surfet,** *n.* Excess. 1. 52.
**Swell,** *v.* To increase the size of; to fill. 1. 499.

**†Tane,** *v.* Past part. of 'take.' 3. 785.
**Tempt,** *v.* †To attempt. 1. 48.
**Then,** *conj.* †Than. 1. 4; 1. 212; 2. 51, etc.
**Tire,** *v.* †To prey upon; devour. 3. 200.
**Tract,** *n.* †Course or movement. 5. 349.
**Traine,** *n.* ‖Plot, stratagem. 4. 800.
**†Trauaile,** *v.* To travel. 5. 134. (*Elsewhere*, travail.)
**Troth,** *n.* †Truth. 2. 94.
**†Tyran,** *n.* Tyrant. 2. 295.

**Vnder-taker,** *n.* ‖On who engages to perform any business. 3. 18. (See Notes.)
**†Vnfear'd,** *adj.* Unafraid. 4. 32.
**Vn-manner'd,** *adj.* Rude, mannerless. 2. 270.
**Vn-reuerendly,** *adv.* †Irreverently. 3. 445.
**†Vnseel,** *v.* To open, as the eyes of a hawk which have been 'seeled.' 1. 297.

**Vaine,** *n.* †Vein (manner of speech or action; particular style). 3. 28.
**†Valure,** *n.* Valor. 1. 432.
**Vantage,** *n.* †To profit, aid. 3. 379.
‖**Varlet,** *n.* Rascal, rogue. 5. 340.
**Vent,** *v.* Reflexively, to relieve oneself. 2. 274. To give utterance to. 2. 291.
**Vindicate,** *v.* †To avenge, punish. 4. 652.
**Voice,** *n.* Utterance. 1. 229; 1. 429. Vote. 1. 516; 1. 581; 2. 98; 3. 372.

**Wake,** *v.* ‖To watch. 3. 90, 3. 446.
**Wayter,** *n* †A waiting-woman. 2. 262.
**Whelm,** *v.* To submerge. 5. 35.
**Where,** *conj.* Whereas. 4. 417.
**Whole,** *adv.* ‖Wholly, completely. 2. 607.
**†Windore,** *n.* Window. 3. 347.
***Wit-worme,** *n.* A term of contempt for a wit. See note on 2. 30.

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